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LIFE

OF

ROBERT EMMET.

BY

avid
D. J. O'DONOGHUE,
Author of
"LIFE OF CARLETON," "LIFE OF MANGAN,"
"POETS OF IRELAND," ETC.

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(James R.)
O'Donnell

of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," the "Castlereagh Correspondence," and the "Cornwallis Correspondence," and a good deal of the pamphlet literature of the time—all, indeed, which seemed likely to throw any light on the subject, or helped to corroborate Madden and others in any detail. Dr. Emmet's work, already mentioned, was, of course, carefully consulted, and as it is an almost unknown book (only one hundred copies having been printed privately, for family purposes, and only two or three of these having found their way into Ireland), it is believed that this is the first time it has been utilized in any publication. All that can be claimed for the present little book is that it has placed on record all that is definitely known of Robert Emmet, and that it is an impartial account of one whose career and character have appealed more strongly to the Irish people in general than any figure in Irish history since Owen Roe and Sarsfield.

D. J. O'D.

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no sympathy with his principles. Quite a literature has gathered about him, chiefly in newspapers and magazines, and many isolated chapters have been written concerning his abortive insurrection; but the necessity for a biography grows greater and greater. With the exception of the work by Dr. Madden, the short sketch by the Countess D'Haussonville, and a couple of pamphlets, which are practically unprocurable, no serious book has appeared on the subject. Madden's work is so chaotic in arrangement, and so full of repetitions, that probably few readers would care to tackle it. The English version of Madame D'Haussonville's work has been long out of print. In any case it is only a sketch founded on Madden's work. One other work, used by Madden, may be mentioned here, though it is of little use to the students of the period. "Robert Emmet and his Contemporaries" originally appeared anonymously in the *Dublin and London Magazine* in the twenties, and conjecture was busy for years with the authorship. All the surmises were wrong, however, and it was not till 1870 that its author, then a very old man, published a modified version of the papers in book form, and signed the work with his initials. Michael James Whitty, a Wexford man, who wrote the book in question, acknowledged that it was purely fanciful, and the reported conversations with Robert Emmet quite imaginary. Madden, however, accepted some of the statements as genuine, and other

writers have also been misled. Though, however, the book is of no value as history, it is interesting, and there is much sane and thoughtful writing in it, showing an excellent acquaintance with Emmet's time and a thorough appreciation of Emmet's position and ideas. Perhaps the best account of Emmet's life yet published is that contained in Dr. T. A. Emmet's massive and sumptuous "Memoirs of the Emmet Family," which has been largely made use of in the present work. It is the most authoritative account of the Emmets, and though mainly devoted to Thomas Addis Emmet and other members of the family, the latest information about Robert Emmet is also placed on record. These are the principal authorities for the facts of Emmet's career; but for an account of the eventful years from 1790 to 1803, which must be dealt with in any book about Emmet, there are other sources which have been indicated in the preface. It will be well to begin with the early years of Emmet, and to interrupt the narrative when necessary in order to tell the story of those movements with which Emmet was connected, or which explain the chief events of his life.

The name of Emmet, in one or other of its numerous forms,* is English, and has existed in England for several hundred years at least. One of the name was a Doctor of Music of Oxford in

* Dr. Emmet, father of Robert, changed the form of his name at least four times.

the reign of Henry II.; and Burke's "Landed Gentry" traces members of the family back to the days of William the Conqueror as landholders in Lancashire. A family tradition indicates that the first settlers of the name in Ireland came over from Kent with Cromwell, but Dr. Emmet has shown that there were people of the name in Waterford, Limerick, Kildare, and Tipperary prior to the advent of the Puritan marauders. Robert Emmet belonged to the latter branch of the family. His grandfather, Christopher, a surgeon and physician, held leases of the fairs and markets of the town of Tipperary, or, in other words, collected the tolls or customs. He was born in 1700, and his wife was Rebecca Temple, daughter of Thomas Temple, and connected with the Palmerston family. She was born about the same year, and died in November, 1774, at her son's residence in Molesworth Street, her remains being buried in St. Anne's Church, Dawson Street. She had two sons, one, Thomas, who died in or about 1754, and the other, Robert, who became a doctor of medicine, and was the father of the gifted Christopher Temple Emmet, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Robert Emmet, the subject of this biography.

Dr. Emmet was born in Tipperary in 1729, and seems to have spent his early life in the south, eventually settling in Dublin. He married, in November, 1760, Elizabeth, daughter of James Mason of Ballydowney, Co. Kerry, and by her had seventeen children, of whom the youngest was

Robert, born in 1778. There had been three other children of the same name previous to the date mentioned, but each had died shortly after birth. The name of Emmet has apparently long died out in Ireland, and Madden quotes a letter from Thomas Addis Emmet, sent from America in 1806 to Peter Burrowes, in which the following passage occurs: "There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history." In another letter to his daughter he expressed the hope that "no one of the name would ever put foot on the soil of Ireland while she remained under British rule."

Dr. Emmet's marriage with Elizabeth Mason brought a large infusion of Irish blood into the family, as she was connected with the Powers, O'Haras, M'Laughlins, and other Irish people. The marriage took place in Cork, and Dr. Emmet (who had received the degree of doctor of medicine from the University of Montpelier, in France, about 1750) had already begun to practise as a physician in that city. He appears to have removed to Dublin in the year 1770, acting on the advice of his kinsman, Earl Temple, Viceroy of Ireland, who appointed him State Physician, which distinction first appears after his name in the "Dublin Directory" of 1771. Most of his children died very young; his eldest son, Christopher

Temple Emmet, who was born in Cork in 1761, only surviving long enough to show that, had he lived longer, he would have risen to the very highest position in his profession. As it was, the estimate formed of him by his contemporaries was remarkably high, and seems almost exaggerated. He was only twenty-seven years of age when he died, yet in the "Life of Grattan" we find him referred to in these terms: "Temple Emmet, before he came to the Bar, knew more law than any of the judges on the Bench; and if he had been placed on one side and the whole Bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any judge or bishop in the land." He had shown, too, a decided poetical turn, and left a few clever effusions in verse.

Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the second son, was born in Dublin, on April 24th, 1764, graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and obtained a degree in medicine with high honours at Edinburgh, in 1784. While in Edinburgh he was on terms of friendship with some of the most notable young men in the city, including the afterwards celebrated Dugald Stewart, Sir James Mackintosh, and others. On leaving Edinburgh he went to London, and became resident physician at Guy's Hospital. After a visit to the Continent he returned to Dublin, where he practised as a physician in conjunction with his father. His subsequent career is very

largely concerned with the history of Ireland at that period, and will be referred to in further chapters.

Of the numerous family of Dr. Robert Emmet, only five were daughters. Mary Anne Emmet, the only one who reached maturity, was a woman of considerable intellect, and wrote some vigorous pamphlets on questions of the day. She shared the political views of her brothers, Thomas and Robert, and voiced them in no uncertain way. She married the celebrated orator and lawyer, Robert Holmes, and died in 1804, aged thirty-one.

The youngest of the family was Robert, whose career forms the subject of this work. He was born at the house in Molesworth Street, on March 4th, 1778. He was first sent to Mr. Oswald's school, in Dopping's Court, off Golden Lane, an institution rather notable at this period for its mathematical teaching. After some time he was transferred to the then famous school of Samuel Whyte in Grafton Street, where Sheridan, Moore, and many other celebrated Irishmen received some of their early education. His last school was that of the Rev. Mr. Lewis' in Camden Street. On October 7th, 1793, when fifteen years of age, he entered Trinity College, his tutor being the Rev. Mr. Graves. His college career was exceptionally successful, rivalling that of his brothers. His special aptitude was for the exact sciences and mathematics, chemistry being perhaps the study in which he was most proficient. An incident is

recorded by Dr. Madden which proves his devotion to scientific pursuits. He frequently made chemical experiments on a small scale at his father's house in Stephen's Green (the doctor having removed there in 1779, one year after Robert's birth), and on one occasion had a narrow escape from poisoning. His relative, Mr. John Patten, who was a guest in the house for some weeks, used to assist him in some of his experiments, and one night after Mr. Patten had retired to rest, Emmet devoted himself to the solution of a very difficult problem in Friend's "Algebra." In his abstraction he indulged in a constant habit he had formed of biting his nails, and this nearly led to serious results. He had been using corrosive sublimate that evening, and was soon seized with violent pains. Some of the poison having remained on his fingers, he had inadvertently administered to himself a dangerous dose. He very carefully refrained from arousing his father, though quite conscious that he was in some peril, and taking down from the shelves of the library a work which had an article on poisons, he found that chalk was recommended as a prophylactic in such a case as his. Remembering that Mr. Patten had been using chalk that day, he proceeded to the coach-house where it had been left, and used it, after which he sat down and succeeded, before retiring to rest, in solving the mathematical problem which had occupied his mind earlier in the night. In the morning his face looked, in the language of

Madden's informant, "as small and as yellow as an orange," and he acknowledged that he had suffered acutely during the night, but had finished the task which he had set himself to do.

While in Trinity College, Emmet enjoyed a considerable reputation as a speaker, and the tribute of his contemporaries is unanimous as to the remarkable promise he showed in the debating societies to which he belonged. Madden says: "I have conversed with many persons who had heard him speak in those societies, some of them of very decided Tory politics, and I never heard but one opinion expressed of the transcendent oratorical powers he displayed there." Madden quotes Dr. Macartney, Rector of Antrim, who was present at a debate of the Historical Society arranged expressly for the *debut* of Emmet. The subject was: "Is a complete freedom of discussion essential to the well-being of a good and virtuous government?" All allusions to modern politics were forbidden; but Emmet, while ostensibly confining himself to the despotism of ancient governments, cleverly argued that it was imperative upon all governments to allow full and free discussion; and, if they did not, it was for the people "to draw practical conclusions" from their tyranny, and to act upon their resolves.

His early friend, Thomas Moore, has given, in his "Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," a valuable glimpse of Emmet's manner and method of oratory, which it is impossible not to quote:

"Were I to number," he says, "the men among all I have ever known, who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmet. Wholly free from the follies and frailties of youth—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed at this time the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom which, in him, was a hereditary as well as national feeling—himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause. Simple in all his habits, and with a repose of look and manner indicating but little movement within, it was only when the spring was touched that set his feelings, and, through them, his intellect, in motion, that he at all rose above the level of ordinary men. On no occasion was this more particularly striking than in those displays of oratory with which, both in the Debating and Historical Society, he so often enchained the attention and sympathy of his young audience. No two individuals, indeed, could be much more unlike to each other than was the same youth to himself before rising to speak and after: the brow that had appeared inanimate, and almost drooping, at once elevating itself to all the consciousness of power, and the whole countenance and figure of the speaker assuming a change as of one suddenly inspired. Of his oratory, it must be recollected,

I speak from youthful impressions; but I have heard little since that appeared to me of a loftier, or, which is a far more rare quality in Irish eloquence, purer character—and the effects it produced, as well from its own exciting power as from the susceptibility with which his audience caught up every allusion to passing events, was such as to attract at last the serious attention of the Fellows; and, by their desire, one of the Scholars, a man of advanced standing and reputation for oratory, came to attend our debates, expressly for the purpose of answering Emmet, and endeavouring to neutralise 'the impressions of his fervid eloquence.'"

Another early associate of Emmet corroborates Moore in his estimate of the young patriot's gifts, namely, the Rev. Archibald Douglas, nephew of Sir Edward Crosbie, who was tried and executed as a rebel in 1798. Writing to Dr. Madden, in 1842, he says: "With Robert Emmet I was most intimate before he entered college, and after. Indeed, in his young days, he almost lived in our house. So gifted a creature does not appear in a thousand years. The whole family were distinguished for talent of the highest order." These tributes are valuable, inasmuch as they dissipate a general impression that Emmet was intellectually of little account.

Moore's general recollections of Emmet in college, as given in his "Memoirs," are extremely interesting, and are worth giving in full:

"The political ferment that was abroad through Ireland soon found its way within the walls of our university, and a youth destined to act a melancholy, but for ever memorable, part in the troubled scenes that were fast approaching, had now begun to attract, in no ordinary degree, the attention both of his fellow-students and the college authorities in general. This youth was Robert Emmet, whose brilliant success in his college studies, and, more particularly, in the scientific portion of them, had crowned his career, as far as he had gone, with all the honours of the course; while his powers of oratory displayed at a debating society, of which, about this time (1796-7) I became a member, were beginning to excite universal attention, as well from the eloquence as the political boldness of his displays. He was, I rather think by two classes, my senior, though it might have been only by one. But there was, at all events, such an interval between our standings as, at that time of life, makes a material difference; and when I became a member of the debating society, I found him in full fame, not only for his scientific attainments, but also for the blamelessness of his life and the grave suavity of his manners. Besides this minor society, there was also another in college, for the higher students, called the Historical Society, established on the ruins of one bearing the same name, which had some years before been (on account of its politics, I believe,) put down by the Fellows, but continued, in de-

fiance of them, to hold its sittings outside the walls. Of this latter association, Charles Bushe, the present witty Chief Justice, was, if I am not mistaken, one of the most turbulent as well as most eloquent members.

"Of the political tone of our small debating society, which was held at the rooms of different resident members, some notion may be formed from the nature of the questions proposed for discussion, one of which was, I recollect, 'Whether an aristocracy or democracy was most favourable to the advancement of science and literature;' while another, still more critically bearing upon the awful position of politics at this crisis, was thus significantly put: 'Whether a soldier was bound on all occasions to obey his commanding officer?' On the former of these questions, the power of Emmet's eloquence was wonderful; and I feel at this moment as if his language was still sounding in my ears. The prohibition against touching upon modern politics, which it was found afterwards necessary to enforce, had not yet been introduced; and Emmet, who took, of course, ardently the side of democracy in the debate, after a brief review of the great republics of antiquity, showing how much they had all done for the advancement of literature and the arts, hastened, lastly, to the grand and perilous example of the young republic of France; and, referring to the story of Cæsar carrying with him across the river only his sword and his Commentaries, he said:

'Thus France at this time swims through a sea of blood; but while in one hand she wields the sword against her aggressors, with the other she upholds the interests of literature, uncontaminated by the bloody tide through which she struggles.' On the other question, as to the obligation of a soldier to obey, on all occasions, the orders of his commanding officer, Emmet, after refuting this notion as degrading to human nature, imagined the case of a soldier who, having thus blindly fought in the ranks of the aggressor, had fallen in the combat; and then most powerfully described him as rushing, after death, into the presence of his Creator, and exclaiming, in an agony of remorse, while he holds forth his sword, reeking still with the blood of the oppressed and innocent: 'O God, I know not why I have done this!' In another of his speeches I remember his saying: 'When a people, advancing rapidly in civilization and the knowledge of their rights, look back after a long lapse of time and perceive how far the spirit of their government has lagged behind them, what then, I ask, is to be done by them in such a case? What, but to pull the government up to the people!'

". . . . It must have been about the beginning of the year 1797 that our little society came to a natural dissolution, most of the members having dropped off or become absorbed in the larger institutions; so that, at last, there not being left a sufficient number to support the society by their subscriptions, those who remained resolved

to divide among them the small library which had been collected (chiefly through gifts from different members) and to declare their meetings at an end. . . . .

"In the course of this year, though I cannot exactly say at what period of it, I was admitted a member of the Historical Society of the University, and here, as everywhere else, the political spirit so rife abroad continued to mix with all our debates and proceedings, notwithstanding the constant watchfulness of the College authorities, and of a strong party within the society itself, which adhered devotedly to the politics of the government, and took part invariably with the Provost and Fellows in all their restrictive and inquisitorial measures. . . . Of the popular side in the society, the chief champion and ornament was Robert Emmet; and though every care was taken to exclude from among the subjects of debate all questions likely to trench upon the politics of the day, it was always easy enough, by a side-wind of digression or allusion, to bring Ireland and the prospects then opening upon her within the scope of the orator's view. So exciting and powerful in this respect were the speeches of Emmet, and so little were the most distinguished speakers among the opponents able to cope with his eloquence, that the Board at length actually thought it right to send among us a man of advanced standing in the University, and belonging to a former race of good speakers in the society, in order that he

might answer the speeches of Emmet, and endeavour to obviate what they considered the mischievous impressions produced by them. The name of this mature champion of the higher powers was, if I remember right, Geraghty; and it was in replying to a speech of his one night, that Emmet, to the no small mortification and surprise of us who gloried in him as our leader, became embarrassed in the middle of his speech, and, to use the parliamentary phrase, 'broke down.' Whether from a momentary confusion in the thread of his argument, or possibly from diffidence in encountering an adversary so much his senior (for Emmet was as modest as he was high-minded and brave), he began, in the full career of his eloquence, to hesitate and repeat his words, and then, after an effort or two to recover himself, sat down."

CHAPTER II.

IT must have been early in 1798 that Emmet adopted the principles of the United Irishmen. He had for years avowed the most ardent national feelings, and it is perfectly certain that he was encouraged by his father in his views, notwithstanding the general impression that the elder Emmet was not a Nationalist. In the "Memoirs of the Emmet Family," it is stated that the doctor became a republican through the influence of his kinsman, Robert Temple, who had been connected with the American Revolution. There can be no question that his political views underwent some change, for he would hardly have received the appointment of State Physician and other official positions which he held (valued at about two thousand pounds per annum), unless he was believed to be a loyalist. The "Memoirs" already quoted state that when he changed his opinions, he immediately gave up his government appointments, and "in time fully indoctrinated his two sons, Thomas Addis and Robert, with his principles." In 1783, he resigned his post in St. Patrick's Hospital. In 1798, he relinquished his practice altogether.

Thomas Addis Emmet was an United Irishman from an early period of the existence of that organization, but it does not appear that Robert Emmet was ever a sworn member. However, he definitely adopted its principles in the spring of 1798, and in April of that year was one of those amongst the students of Trinity College who were charged with being concerned in the dissemination of treasonable doctrines. Late in 1797, the Senior Fellows of the College had held a court of inquiry into the matter, which resulted in the expulsion of two of the students, but it was in April, 1798, that the famous visitation, so graphically described by Moore in his "Memoirs," and by Walsh in "Ireland Sixty Years Ago," took place. The Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor, presided over the proceedings, which led to the expulsion of nineteen scholars, students, and sizars. Emmet was one of those who received the summons from the Board, requesting him to furnish the authorities with the names of any fellow-students who were suspected of being United Irishmen. Emmet immediately replied in a letter, which he showed to his father, who thoroughly approved of it, denouncing the attempt to turn the students into informers, declining to give any information, and declaring that he wished his name removed from the books of the College. Emmet, therefore, it will be seen, anticipated the possible decision of the Board, though his name, it is said, appeared among those expelled for the crime of denouncing English misrule. A letter had

recently appeared in the *Press*, the organ of the United Irishmen, addressed "To the Students of the University," and signed, "A Sophister," which was severely animadverted upon by the Lord Chancellor. It was supposed to have been an incitement to assassination, but it was certainly guiltless of any such tendency, though there are some ambiguous allusions in it. It was not known then, or till long afterwards, that it was written by Thomas Moore, who alludes to it in a passage to be quoted further on. Among the Fellows examined at the visitation, was Dr. Whitley Stokes,* who was known to hold very strong Irish views, and who had been really a member of the United Irishmen in the earlier phases of that organization. The most interesting episode of the whole inquiry occurred on Dr. Stokes' reply to the question as to whether he knew of any secret or illegal societies in College. The episode in question has been so well described by the author of "Ireland Sixty Years Ago," who was present, that his account may well be utilized here:

"The Vice-Chancellor, eyeing him with a stern countenance, and with the confidence of a person who knew his man, asked him in an emphatic manner if he knew if United Irish Societies existed in College. Stokes answered decidedly, 'No.' The Vice-Chancellor looked much amazed by the unexpected repulse, and a slight murmur of

* Several of his descendants have given convincing proof of their interest in Ireland and her history, art, and literature.

applause ran through the hall. The paper* was held out to Stokes, and, in a similar manner, he was asked if he knew anything of the authorship of it; and in a similar tone, to the surprise of all (except myself), he denied all knowledge of it or its authors. The exceeding candour of Stokes, and his known love of truth, induced all to believe that he would at once declare whatever he knew, when asked, and many thought he knew much. He was then asked if he knew anything of secret or illegal societies in College. He answered promptly and without hesitation that he did. He was then called on to explain and declare what they were.

"'The only societies of that description which I am aware of,' said he, 'are Orange societies, and I know some members of them.'

"If the Chancellor had been struck a violent blow he could not have shown more surprise and indignation."

Stokes acknowledged that he had been an United Irishman and had subscribed to the funds of the Society. In the result he was suspended from his Fellowship for three years.

Moore has supplemented this description by other details, but they chiefly concern himself, and are therefore not of special interest here. Emmet was at this time only twenty years of age, and yet had succeeded in greatly influencing not only

* A series of strong resolutions drawn up by Walsh, author of "Ireland Sixty Years Ago."

some of those who were his juniors, but also others of much more mature age than himself. Not a few of his early friends and associates in the University afterwards figured in the stormy times that were to follow in a manner highly creditable to their nationality; one or two others were found among his bitterest pursuers at the end.

Charles Phillips, who was well acquainted with many of Emmet's friends, has, in his "Recollections of Curran," placed on record what might be termed their impressions of Emmet in College and after he left it.

"He was but just twenty-three, had graduated in Trinity College, and was gifted with abilities and virtues which rendered him an object of universal esteem and admiration. Every one loved—every one respected him; his fate made an impression on the University which has not yet* been obliterated. His mind was naturally melancholy and romantic, he had fed it from the pure fountain of classic literature, and might be said to have lived not so much in the scene around him as in the society of the illustrious and sainted dead.

"The poets of antiquity were his companions, its patriots his models, and its republics his admiration. He had but just entered upon the world, full of the ardour which such studies might be supposed to have excited, and unhappily at a period in the history of his country when such noble feelings were not only detrimental, but

* 1818.

dangerous. It is but an ungenerous loyalty which would not weep over the extinction of such a spirit. The irritation of the Union had but just subsided. The debates upon that occasion he had drunk in with devotion, and doctrines were then promulgated by some of the ephemeral patriots of the day well calculated to inflame minds less ardent than Robert Emmet's. Let it not be forgotten by those who affect to despise his memory that men matured by experience, deeply read in the laws of their country, and venerated as the high priests of the Constitution, had but two years before, vehemently, eloquently, and earnestly, in the very temple itself, proclaimed resistance to be a duty."

Moore, continuing the account of his intimacy with Emmet, and referring to the publication of his letter in *The Press*, says:

"A few days after the publication, in the course of one of those strolls into the country which Emmet and I used often to take together, our conversation turned upon this letter, and I gave him to understand it was mine; when, with that almost feminine gentleness of manner which he possessed, and which is so often found in determined spirits, he owned to me that on reading this letter, though pleased with its contents, he could not help regretting that the public attention had been thus drawn to the politics of the University, as it might have the effect of awakening the vigilance of the College authorities, and frustrate the

progress of the good work (as we both considered it) which was going on there so quietly. Even then, boyish as my own mind was, I could not help being struck with the manliness of the view which I saw he took of what men ought to do in such times and circumstances, namely, not to *talk* or *write* about their intentions, but to *act*. He had never before, I think, in conversation with me, alluded to the existence of the United Irish societies in College; nor did he now, or at any subsequent time, make any proposition to me to join in them, a forbearance which I attribute a good deal to his knowledge of the anxiety about me which prevailed at home and his foreseeing the difficulty I should experience—from being, as the phrase is, constantly 'tied to my mother's apron strings'—in attending the meetings of the society without being discovered.

"He was altogether a noble fellow, and as full of imagination and tenderness of heart as of manly daring. He used frequently to sit by me at the pianoforte while I played over the airs from Bunting's Irish Collection; and I remember one day, when we were thus employed, his starting up, as if from a reverie, while I was playing the spirited air, 'Let Erin Remember the Days of Old,' and exclaiming passionately, 'Oh! that I were at the head of twenty thousand men marching to that air.'"

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE proceeding further with the details of Emmet's life, it seems desirable to describe as fairly as possible the condition to which Ireland had been brought by grievous oppression. A plain narrative of the order of events will serve the purpose far better than eloquent denunciation or rhetorical fireworks. It will be necessary to go back a year or two in order to enable the reader to correctly picture the state of things which led up to and explain the Insurrection of 1803, with which this book is more immediately concerned. Even in the opinion of a historian with the strong loyalist views of Mr. Lecky, the Government of the day cannot be exonerated from the charge of having fomented the rebellion, which was to burst into full fury in 1798. "In October, 1797," he says, "it would be difficult to conceive a more dreary or a more ignoble picture than Ireland then presented. The Parliament had lost almost every quality of a representative body; the Government was at once bigoted and corrupt, and steadily opposed to the most moderate and most legitimate reforms."* Earlier in 1797 an insurrection

* "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. iii., p. 140.

was daily expected in the North, where the United Irish principles had taken deep root; but the revolt was postponed time and again till the promised landing of the French, who had committed themselves to the explicit undertaking of an invasion to Wolfe Tone and the other Irish emissaries in Paris.

Fresh negotiations were opened with France in April of this year by Edward Lewins, who was instructed to assure the Directory that all was ripe for insurrection, and to exact a promise of immediate armed assistance and a loan of £500,000. France was also asked, and agreed, to see that no peace would be concluded between her and England until Ireland was given a full measure of freedom. The Dutch were to co-operate with their fleet in the insistence on Ireland's claim. The French Government sent an emissary of their own to England, who, through another, reported that the Irish people were quite ready, and that an insurrection would be successful if backed by the French, but not otherwise.

Dr. M'Nevin, one of the leading United Irishmen, was also sent to France in order to induce the Directory to hurry with the project. He told them that 150,000 men were enrolled by the United Irishmen in Ulster alone, that other parts of the country, if less numerously represented, were not less effectively ready, by their hatred of England, to strike a blow for the liberation of their country. "Even in those places where the United

Irish system is not entirely adopted," he declared, "the co-operation of the poor and middle classes may be counted on. Their hatred of the English despotism, and the vexations they endure from their lords, cause the most ignorant among them to act in the same sense as the most enlightened republicans."

All the most enthusiastic declarations of M'Nevin and Lewins and the most fervent appeals of Tone and others did not rouse the Directory from its lethargy. Promises were made, but time passed, and little was done besides making a show of preparation. Some fiery spirits, and notably Hoche, were burning to take part in, or to, at least, send an expedition to Ireland; but jealousies, indifference, and even positive opposition on the part of others on whom part of the work would devolve, delayed, and finally wrecked the project. The promise to make no peace unless Ireland's independence was assured was flagrantly broken, and in the famous negotiations between England and France at Lille, the name of Ireland does not appear to have been even pronounced. Even the most exaggerated and extreme proposals or demands from France do not mention Ireland. There was a momentary hope from the failure of the peace negotiations, and from the extensive mutinies in the British fleets at Spithead and the Nore, but this hope was soon dispelled. The death of Hoche, the most ardent friend of Ireland in France, with the rise of Bonaparte, Hoche's bitterest rival, and one who

disbelieved utterly in an Irish expedition, soon relegated the chances of French help to a more distant date than the United Irishmen either desired or anticipated, and matters assumed their usually hopeless cast, to the mingled rage and grief of the Irish leaders.

The Irish Parliament had meanwhile drifted closer and closer to English wishes, apparently unconscious of the scheme long since conceived of throttling it out of existence. The last Irish Parliament was elected early in 1798, and Grattan declined to stand for it, asserting in a powerful address published at the time, that, by corruption and other illicit means the Government was steadily undermining the power granted in 1782, and succeeding in reducing the Parliament to a mere cipher, in making "the King in Parliament everything, and the people nothing." Mr. Lecky, whose predilections need not be insisted upon, admits sorrowfully that the Government was steadily paving the way, by a policy of exasperation, to open rebellion. Obviously, the only way to carry the already projected Union of the two countries was by stimulating rebellion, and then, with the excuse of that revolt before them, to crush it and insist upon the necessity of a centralisation of government. "No candid men, I think," says Mr. Lecky, "deny that acts of illegal, criminal, shameful, and exasperating violence, were, at this time, committed in Ireland with the full sanction of the Government; but," he adds, "it seems to

me equally impossible to deny that a conspiracy existed, with which ordinary law was utterly unable to cope." Grattan, in his address, impressively denounced the Government for "the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and Christian countries."

The condition of Ireland grew worse and worse. The pretence of England that its oppressive acts were necessary in consequence of the alarming condition of Ireland, suggesting that they were the effect rather than the cause of the troubles, is exactly what might have been expected. Public feeling in Ireland was becoming increasingly exacerbated. The Government, having good reason to know that their efforts to produce a rebellion were succeeding, began to mature their plans for crushing it, and Sir Ralph Abercromby was sent over to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief. Meanwhile the *Press*, which had been founded in 1797, after the suppression of the *Northern Star*, to voice the views of the national party, became more outspoken than ever, and the only question in the air was whether the rising was to burst forth before the arrival of the French or after it—their coming in strength being still fervently hoped for. Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in Ireland at a time when everything showed that an upheaval was imminent. His knowledge of Ireland, his known humanity and hatred of cruelty, would seem to have been against the likelihood of his being chosen to command the English troops in Ireland.

He entered on his task with some reluctance, and speedily found reason to regret his appointment. The state of affairs in Ireland disgusted him, and he at once found it necessary to sternly control the troops under his command, who were guilty of innumerable outrages on the people. His indignant letters to the Government were not at all to the liking of the men who were engineering the Union. His orders to the troops were resented by the worst and most numerous section of the loyal minority.

Lord Charlemont wrote that Abercromby was acting "with the strictest propriety in his most difficult situation, and has the happiness of being cordially disliked and abused." Finally, Abercromby issued the famous orders of February 26th, 1798, strongly condemning "the very disgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints and irregularities in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom," which, he said, "unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy," and calling upon the officers to deal stringently with all such conduct. Lecky admits that the publication of this order "produced a feeling approaching to consternation in government circles both in England and in Ireland." An outcry was raised against Abercromby, led by Lord Clare and John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, and every effort, open and secret, was made to degrade him from

his position. Foster, Clare, and others openly and frankly admitted that it was imperatively necessary to get rid of this soldier, who seemed to have scruples about carrying out the dragooning of Ireland which had been resolved upon. Clare was, of course, the most insanely angry of his opponents. He complained violently of "the peevish indiscretion" of the general's orders, said that he "must have lost his senses," called him "a Scotch beast," and admitted that it was "provoking that the critical situation in which we stand made it ineligible to resent his intemperance as it merited."

Abercromby promptly sent in his resignation when he learned the extent of the cabal against him. In his letters he sticks to his guns, and so far from retracting any of his statements, reiterates them in stronger terms.

"Within these last twelve months," he says, "every crime, every cruelty that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks has been transacted here. The words of the order of February 26th were strong; the circumstances required it. It has not abated the commission of enormities." Again, he says: "The abuses of all kinds I found here can scarcely be enumerated. I tried various means with little success; it was necessary to speak out." Lecky agrees that "the resignation of Abercromby completed the fatal policy which the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam had begun, and it took away the last faint chance of averting a rebellion."

Before actually leaving the country, Abercromby went to Munster, which he was told was in serious rebellion, and found the report absurdly exaggerated. He went everywhere without an escort and was unmolested, finding the people pursuing their activities as quietly as possible. Towards the end of April he left Ireland, and to the end of his life regarded his brief career in that country as the most honourable event of his life. He was succeeded by Lake, who was a more willing instrument in the hands of the loyalists.

When the new Parliament opened in Dublin, in January, 1798, the serious attention of the Govern- was called to the state of the country by moderate men like Sir Laurence Parsons and Dr. Arthur Browne (one of the members for Dublin University). The latter particularly animadverted on the house-burning and shooting which went on night after night. All who were merely suspected of treasonable views or practices, were, in some parts of the country, shot in cold blood; and the houses of all persons suspected of disloyalty were burned if their owners were not at home at a particular hour of the night. The Government either shifted the odium on to the shoulders of the military authorities or denied the truth of the charges. It would be easy to fill pages with terrible examples of the military ferocity of the time, but there is no need. The prevalence of causeless military outrages cannot be disputed. The Government hushed up all proved atrocities, and sheltered the criminals. Mr

Lecky truly enough states that "such a policy could hardly fail to drive the country into rebellion, and to plant in it savage animosities and a distrust of law more dangerous, because more enduring, than rebellion." Lake, in his reports, admitted that in the North only the expected arrival of the French delayed hostilities. "The flame is smothered," he wrote, "but not extinguished." By encouraging the spread of Orangeism the Government executed a Machiavellian stroke of policy. The efforts of the United Irishmen, chiefly Protestants, to ameliorate the condition of the Catholics, their desire to combine both sections into a homogeneous whole for the benefit of the country against the common oppressor, were counteracted by the serious growth of the Orange body, which gradually succeeded in embittering the relations between the two religious bodies.

The Government all the time had fixed its mind on a union of the two Parliaments, and only awaited the opportunity to introduce such a measure, if only tentatively at first. Even while professing to have the idea of conciliating Catholic claims, steady support was given to the formation of Orange societies, whose *raison d' etre* was the destruction of "Popery." The United Irishmen were very strong in the North, and fairly powerful in Dublin and other parts of Leinster. In Munster there was a somewhat tacit, rather than actual, support of their views, while Connaught was sunk in apathy, and seemed content to vegetate without

a thought of uplifting itself or of being uplifted to a sense of liberty.

It was believed, on good authority, that early in 1798 there were, at least, 280,000 armed United Irishmen in Ireland. The leaders, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, M'Nevin, Oliver Bond, and M'Cormick, forming the Supreme Executive of the body in Dublin in '98, were confident of success in the event of an armed insurrection, and chafed at the delay. There were somewhat divided opinions among those named as to the advisability of waiting for the French, and some bitterness was created between two or three of them, notably O'Connor and Emmet, on this account. The Government was generally aware of the existence of the conspiracy, but seems to have had little specific information against individuals until Turner and Reynolds informed against the chiefs of the movement. Then the authorities decided to act. Reynolds told the Government of the forthcoming meeting at Oliver Bond's house at which the details of the insurrection were to be arranged, and the Government, on March 12th, swooped down upon the house at the time indicated and secured fifteen of the leading spirits who were there assembled. M'Nevin, Addis Emmet, Sweetman, and Jackson were arrested at another place. Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped for a time, but was subsequently captured under circumstances well-known to every Irish reader. Martial law was proclaimed on the

30th of March, and this measure effectually stopped the arming of the people, which had been silently going on for some time.

Notice was given that unless all the arms of a given district were delivered up to the authorities within a certain time, the whole district would be burnt and devastated. House burning on an extensive scale had gone on in any case for some months, and was of course only further encouraged by the Government orders. Tortures and other practices, more or less hellish, were now resorted to when all other means of coercing the people failed. Demons in military shape were let loose on the people in every district where it was thought the conspiracy had taken root, and it would require a Dantean pen to adequately impress upon the mind the awful scenes which, on the testimony of the Government reports themselves, were enacted over a considerable part of Eastern Ireland. As it was impossible to obtain redress for any military outrage, no matter how unprovoked, the pandemonium that existed is better imagined than described. But a glance at the very moderate statement of the matter in Lecky's "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,"* will convince any one that nothing could be worse. The record of such conduct as he only briefly summarises is not merely sufficient to justify Emmet's subsequent ill-fated attempt to rouse the people, but would justify fifty rebellions,

* Pp. 270, etc., Vol. iv.

and indeed justifies most of what has been since done by the people of Ireland as a protest against misrule. There is no doubt that the terrible conduct of the British soldiery practically succeeded in its object, and that what might have been a widespread and bloody revolution was restricted to little more than a local insurrection. Although, in the words of Mr. Lecky, "driven to desperation by intolerable military tyranny," the people were either too terrified (in most districts), or too weak to make reprisals, and so for some weeks at least the military battue went on unresisted. It had been intended to slowly develop the armed resources of the country, to prepare silently and steadily, and then, when all was ready, to give the signal for the general rising, and to invoke the immediate aid of the French. The military measures were certainly successful in inducing the premature explosion of the rebellion, and thus causing the failure of the project to overthrow English rule.

CHAPTER IV.

THE first breaking out of the insurrection occurred on May 23rd, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Meath. It quickly spread to Queen's County, Carlow, Wicklow, and eventually to Wexford, where the most stubborn fight was made. Had the rising been simultaneous, and had the French arrived with any considerable force and with a large supply of arms, undoubtedly the sweeping away of the British power in Ireland would have been an accomplished fact. Ulster had signally failed to stand by its promises, partly, no doubt, owing to the spread of Orangeism, and the growth of a feeling that the rebellion in the East and South had partaken rather too largely of a Catholic peasant revolt. The conduct of the French, too, in several parts of Europe and in America, was not calculated to reassure the suspicious Ulstermen. Hence, when the rebellion did spread to the North, it was a very attenuated affair, and while those who fought and suffered deserve every credit for their steadfastness, it must be confessed that, seeing the possibilities and the actual preparations, Ulster does not come very creditably out of the struggle. The letters of

Dean Warburton, Alexander, Bishop Percy, and others confirm the impression that they dreaded a Catholic supremacy in the Government which was to follow the successful issue of the rebellion.

"The cunning and wary Northerners," wrote Warburton, "see that no revolution can be effected without a foreign aid (of which they now despair). . . . I think the Northern Dissenter will now be a spectator of that destructive flame which he himself originally kindled up, and will take no active part in the present attempt." Again, Under-Secretary Cooke writes as follows to the Government: "The quiet of the North is to me unaccountable; but I feel that the Popish tinge in the rebellion, and the treatment of France to Switzerland and America, has (*sic*) really done much, and, in addition to the army, the force of Orange yeomanry is really formidable." Bishop Percy's views were almost identical. "Another cause which has alienated our Northern Irish republicans from France is the vile treatment of Switzerland and America, to the latter of whom they were exceedingly devoted, especially at Belfast, where they are now signing resolutions of abhorrence of French tyranny." Lord Camden wrote in precisely the same strain. Even the most fervent United Irishmen were disgusted with the French conduct, and when Wolfe Tone heard of Bonaparte's proclamation to the republic of Genoa in the year 1797, he was greatly disturbed, and told Hoche that were the fact known in

Ireland, "it would have a ruinous effect. . . . In Italy such dictation might pass, but never in Ireland, where we understand our rights too well to submit to it." Notwithstanding all these things, a partial rising did take place in Ulster, and the attack on Antrim on June 7th, 1798, proved to the Government that such a widespread hostility as existed against them could not but affect the North to some extent. But the Northern revolt was soon over, and M'Cracken and his brave followers were speedily dispersed, and either killed in action, executed, or exiled. Matters were much worse in Wexford, where a really terrible condition of warfare was apparent. Though defeated at Gorey on June 1st, the insurgents drove off Walpole on June 4th, and forced the retreat of General Loftus.

The most desperate battle of the whole rebellion followed at New Ross on June 5th, when the British troops were routed at first, but which ended in a victory for the latter in the end. The insurrection proceeded with varying fortunes, and was fought through by the rebels with magnificent bravery, which has earned the warm admiration of many historians; but finally the battle of Vinegar Hill, the massacre of Enniscorthy, and the executions of Father Roche, Bagnal Harvey, Grogan, and others completed what must necessarily have been, from the lack of preparation on the popular side, a brief campaign; and the Government were at last able to breathe freely. Not that military

excesses were stopped. These went on still, but for all practical purposes the rebellion of 1798 was at an end, and its leaders in the grave or the prison.

In April, 1799, after more than a year in Dublin prisons, Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, W. J. M'Nevin, and Arthur O'Connor were, with fifteen others,* removed to Fort George in Scotland soon after their several arrests, and while there, entered into an arrangement with the Government which has been very much misrepresented. It was clear when they entered into this compact that the rebellion was practically at an end. From the signed statement of Emmet, M'Nevin, and Sweetman, one can plainly see that the reasons which induced them to sign the agreement with the Government were sufficiently serious to justify their conduct. In it they say:

"From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch, early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed in consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar Hill on the 21st of the same month, led to its termination in Leinster; and the capitulation of Ovidstown, on the 12th of July, may be understood as the last public appearance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that

* Whose names were Roger O'Connor, Dowling, Chambers, Hudson, Neilson, Cumming, Russell, Simms, Tennent, Hunter, Wilson, Dickson, Sweeny, Cormick, and Cuthbert.

could be expected from it, *was at an end;* but blood still continued to flow — courts-martial, special commissions, and, above all, sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to liberty, while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

"Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with the Government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much might be saved and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds, and the more quickly matured by the impending fate of two worthy men."

On the 24th of July the negotiation was commenced, and was finally concluded a little later between the State prisoners and Lord Clare, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Edward Cooke, the Under Secretary of State for Ireland, as representing the Government. The main idea of the prisoners was that though their action might make them personally unpopular, and might be used against them unscrupulously, it was essential that the pending trials and executions should be stopped, and the country allowed to recover itself from the chaos into which the struggle had precipitated it. The agreement was broken by the Government, as

might have been expected, but the *bona fides* of the United Irish prisoners are above question. They were examined before a secret committee, and their answers so grossly garbled, and their views so malignantly misrepresented, that they had to publicly protest against the libels. They positively denied that at any time they had *acknowledged crimes, retracted opinions, or implored pardon*, as the Irish Parliament had suggested. When the prisoners wished to publicly repudiate this misrepresentation (which they had expressly declared, as part of the agreement, that they had a right to do should their actions or words be distorted), they were informed that it would be considered a breach of the arrangement, and the trials and executions would be allowed to proceed. The prisoners were thus obliged to postpone the publication of their statement of the facts.

Byrne and Bond, the two worthy men previously mentioned, were treacherously put to death by the Government, and in practically every essential the agreement was broken by the authorities. The prisoners publicly advertised that in no case did they name any individual—"On the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever." It was contended by the more extreme loyalists that this advertisement was quite sufficient to justify their immediate execution; and there is no doubt that the Government was exasperated at what seemed likely to lead to an undoing of their plan for

coercing and disheartening the country, the more so as the imminent arrival of a French expedition in Connaught was expected. The prisoners were detained in prison, notwithstanding all promises to release them (the proviso on the part of the Government having been that they should not return to Ireland). All that the State prisoners had themselves offered to do was to try and restore peace and to allow themselves to be exiled, or to freely emigrate to any country agreed upon by the Government. They were well aware that there was no legal case against them, or at least against most of them, and the Government had practically admitted this. Only those who had been actually guilty of murder—as the authorities termed it—were excepted from the compact. The American minister at the Court of St. James, Mr. Rufus King, had entered into collusion with the Government, and had induced the American President to declare that the United Irishmen would not be permitted to land in the United States. The interdiction was, of course, soon set aside when the real facts of the case were presented to America, and Mr. Rufus King, who had endeavoured, by libelling their character, to prevent the prisoners from seeking a home in the new republic, was severely castigated in a public letter by Thomas Addis Emmet, which soon relegated this toady to the obscurity from which he had emerged for a brief moment.

Among those who visited Thomas Addis Emmet

in Fort George were his wife and Robert Emmet. Very little is known of the circumstances or time of Robert's visit, but it seems to have been early in 1800. He was perfectly acquainted with the negotiations of the prisoners with the Government, and presumably approved of them. During the rebellion and for some time after he seems to have stayed in Dublin quietly. There seemed to be no hope for the country at the time.

It was probably during the interval between the cessation of the rebellion and his departure from Ireland on a foreign tour that Robert Emmet first made the acquaintance of Sarah Curran, about whose name the most romantic associations of his life are gathered. The younger Curran, in his biography of John Philpot Curran, thus alludes to the beginning of the acquaintance:

"The projector of the late insurrection, Mr. Robert Emmet, who was a young gentleman of a highly distinguished family, of very striking talents and interesting manners, was in the habit of visiting at Mr. Curran's house. Here he soon formed an attachment to his youngest daughter. Of the progress of that attachment, and of the period and occasion of his divulging it to her, Mr. Emmet's letters, inserted hereafter, contain all that is to be told. It is necessary, however, to add, that her father remained in total ignorance of the motive of Mr. Emmet's visits, until subsequent events made it known to all. To a man of his celebrity and attractive conversation there seemed nothing sin-

gular in finding his society cultivated by any young person to whom he afforded (as he so generally did to all) the opportunities of enjoying it."

There can be no doubt that J. P. Curran was quite unaware of Emmet's attachment for his daughter, which was not reciprocated at once. Curran's conduct when he did discover the attachment was certainly not very creditable to him, but it is too often the case that brilliant talents are allied with a cold and cruel disposition. In the bosom of his family the famous orator often forgot the generous sympathies which were so marked a feature of his public pronouncements, and his treatment of his wife and children was, not to speak too mildly, tyrannical and heartless. This is well known to all students of the social life of his time, though his biographers are generally silent on the point.

Emmet's love of Sarah Curran was, as has been said, not returned at first. It may be that he thought his suit was hopeless, or perhaps his desire for travel overcame every other consideration, but directly after his visit to Fort George he went on an extended foreign tour. The Union had been carried by the most unmitigated rascality ever practised, and it is no wonder if he sought a change of scene in disgust. But before coming to the period of his departure, it may be well to give a brief account of what was happening in Ireland.

As soon as the rebellion was crushed, the

Government began to mature their plans for a Union between, as the phrase goes, the two Parliaments and the two countries — a more accurate description of the process being the swallowing of the smaller Parliament by the larger, and with it the possibility of prosperity of the weaker country. We may take it for granted that Emmet saw all the proceedings which led to this act with anger and shame, and that he did his part in resisting the measure by every means which seemed to be within his reach. In the absence of absolute knowledge on the point, it may be fairly assumed that he concluded that nothing but armed resistance would have any weight with the English Government. In any case, his close connection with many of the leaders of the recent rebellion, and his thorough and undoubted sympathy with their aims, certainly underwent no change.

Cornwallis, when he arrived in Ireland, found the country, as might be expected, in a deplorable state. The Government's encouragement of the excesses of the yeomanry had produced a ferocity in the more bigoted of its supporters which has no parallel in Irish history. Cornwallis himself admits and deprecates this. "The violence of our friends," he wrote, "and their folly in endeavouring to make this a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, who delight in murder, most powerfully counteracted all plans of conciliation." And he adds further: "The minds of people are now in such a state that nothing but blood will

satisfy them; and although they will not admit the term, their conversation and conduct point to no other mode of concluding this unhappy business than that of extirpation. . . . The conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, etc.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland and my wretched situation."

Just when the insurrection seemed, and indeed was, at expiring point, the Government were startled to hear of the arrival and successful landing of a French force under Humbert at Killala, Co. Mayo. Space will not permit of a detailed account of the incidents which followed the landing of Humbert, with which, in any case, most Irish people are fairly familiar. The French triumph was of short duration. They landed on August 22nd, 1798, and by September 8th, the remnant of their force had surrendered at Ballinamuck, but not before inflicting, with the aid of their Irish allies, one of the most humiliating defeats recorded in history upon the English troops.

A few isolated rebels, like Holt in Wicklow, still held out, but the rebellion was completely at an end early in 1799.

CHAPTER V.

THOUGH Cornwallis carried out many extremely harsh measures, he was not, as English generals and statesmen in Ireland went, a vindictive person. He was, naturally enough, blamed for his leniency. Bishop Percy had foreseen that he would not altogether suit the loyalists in that respect. "He will not be a favourite here," wrote the Bishop, "for he is very sober himself, and does not push the bottle. They also think him too merciful to the rebels." The implacable Lord Clare was of course among his opponents on this score. He insisted that Cornwallis had "much mistaken the nature of the people in supposing that they were to be brought back to submission by a system nearly of indiscriminate impunity for the most enormous offences," thereby vexing the souls of the loyal minority to a very considerable extent. Lecky, however, gives figures to show that even under the "mild" sway of this too humane general, terrible severity had been shown. Nearly 400 persons had been tried during his regime up to March, 1799, of whom 131 were condemned to death, and 81 actually executed. Castlereagh, in a private letter of the 6th March of the year

named, admits that that does not by any means sum up the number of victims. "Numbers," he says, "were tried and executed by order of the general officers, which cases never came before the Lord Lieutenant, and it appears . . . that 418 persons were banished or transported by sentences of courts-martial. . . . Since Lord Cornwallis' arrival, exclusive of the infliction of punishment by military tribunals, great numbers were convicted at the autumn assizes." Madden conjectures that 70,000 persons must have perished during the two months' struggle, but that number seems greatly exaggerated. Perhaps 20,000 to 30,000 was nearer the actual figure. The well-known Quaker writer, Mrs. Mary Leadbeater, states a horrible fact which illustrates in a gruesome way the state of things in Ireland. "For several months," she says, "there was no sale for bacon cured in Ireland, from the well-founded dread of the hogs having fed upon the flesh of men."

The loss of property was so enormous, that it is impossible to get any idea of it. The loyalists' claims reached nearly a million pounds, but the awful losses of the insurgents and of the people generally are beyond computation. The country was, in many parts, little more than a mass of smoking ruins, and Ireland did not recover from the devastation for many years, if, indeed, it has ever recovered from it at all.

Everything was now ripe for the projected Union, a proposal which, though broached as far

back as 1776, was withdrawn in consequence of the intense unpopularity with which it was received. It was only during the rebellion that it was definitely decided to go on with the measure and to carry it through at whatever cost. This gives colour to the belief that the rebellion was engineered and precipitated by the Government in order to obtain support for their unpopular project.

The destruction of the Irish Parliament, ineffective as that institution may have been for Irish purposes, was so necessary to England that, seeing her readiness to resort to any means which would ensure her predominance, there is no difficulty in believing the popular impression to be true. Even though actual facts may not be forthcoming to prove the accusation, Mr. Lecky, while doubting that Pitt and his ministers could be so "extremely wicked" as to "deliberately kindle" this rebellion, yet says: "Nor can it, I think, be denied that it is in a high degree probable, that a desire to carry a Legislative Union had a considerable influence in dictating the policy which in fact produced the rebellion."

At the latter end of 1798 there was considerable discussion between ministers as to the possibilities of the Union being carried. At first it was suggested that Catholic Emancipation, in some modified form, should form part of the measure; but, owing to the hostility of Lord Clare and others, and the expected disapproval of King George III., the idea was dropped. It is almost incredible,

but is undoubted, that notwithstanding the known decision not to accompany the measure with any concession to the Catholics, many of the latter, and notably Archbishop Troy and other ecclesiastics, were in favour of the change. There was strong opposition in many influential quarters, and even among strong supporters of the Government; but Clare and Castlereagh resolved to proceed, and by enforced resignations, dismissals, and finally, by the most shameless bribery, gradually extended the number of Unionists among the officials and legislators in Ireland.

No doubt some of the Catholic supporters believed that Emancipation would soon follow the Union, and it was generally implied, or allowed to be implied, that such would be the case. Hence the considerable Catholic support of the Government project. The strongest and most insistent opponents of the measure were Protestants, who may possibly in some cases have been influenced by the same belief, and voted against the Government for that reason.

On January 22nd, 1799, the Irish Parliament met for the last session but one, and in the King's Speech the question of Union was raised. It was pointed out that the House was pledged to nothing but a discussion of the subject; but several members, notably Sir John Parnell, George Ponsonby, Sir Laurence Parsons, while agreeing that the Empire should be strengthened and consolidated, declared that it should be done by

"maintaining the undoubted right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent Legislature." Some of the speakers insisted that the loyalists were almost wholly against it, and that if it would please anybody at all, it would be the United Irishmen alone, who would naturally welcome whatever would embitter the people of Ireland against England. Others referred pointedly to the bribery already going on—"black corruption," said Plunket, "which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country." One member, after declaring that he would vote against the Government, intervened later to announce his conversion. He had in the interval been promised a peerage by Lord Castlereagh, and obtained it in due course. The Government carried the Address by one vote, which was, of course, a severe defeat. In the Lords they had been more successful. Castlereagh announced his intention, notwithstanding the extent and character of the opposition, of bringing forward a measure of Union.

In a later debate the Government were defeated by five votes on a motion to omit the clause of the Address which referred to the advantages of an Union. There was immense rejoicing at the result, and Dublin was illuminated, even the General Post Office, a Government building, being lit up in honour of the occasion. Those windows which were not illuminated were broken, and Dublin was in a general tumult. The result of

the first attempt would, in any country governed on constitutional principles (to use Lecky's words), "have been deemed decisive;" but the English Parliament persisted in their plan. Catholic peers, like Lords Kenmare and Fingall, and prelates, such as Archbishop Troy and Bishop Moylan, publicly stated their regret at the rejection of the proposed Union. In these circumstances, and knowing that by their steady corruption of members, they would eventually gain the day, the Government pressed on. The state of the country was very bad, even though actual rebellion had ceased, and the authorities used these facts as arguments upon those who were weak and vacillating. Gradually more and more anti-Unionists were won over, and the measure was safe. In April an address in its favour was carried by an overwhelming majority in the British Houses of Parliament. Cornwallis, though hating the work, was given unlimited authority to bribe all who were deemed to be useful for the purposes of the Government. "How I long," he wrote, "to kick those whom my public duty compels me to court;" and he adds: "Nothing but the conviction that an Union is absolutely necessary for the safety of the British Empire, could make me endure the shocking task which is imposed upon me." Mr. Lecky declares that "it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that everything in the gift of the Crown in Ireland, in the Church, the army, the law, the revenue, was at this

period uniformly and steadily devoted to the single object of carrying the Union." In May Cornwallis reported that there were 148 votes certain for the Union, 98 against, and 54 doubtful. A month later the Government supporters reached 165, and in December were believed to number 180. In January, 1800, the Irish Houses met for their last session, and, strangely enough, the King's Speech contained no reference to the all-important question of the hour—an omission explained by the desire of the Government to wait till thirty-nine vacancies in the boroughs, caused by jugglery, were filled up, it being known that they would return Government hacks.

Among the new members hostile to the Government was Grattan, for whom a seat had been purchased, and who had been induced by his friends to re-enter Parliament at this acute crisis.

A large fund (about £100,000) had been raised by the Opposition in order to counteract the bribery of the Government; but it was clear that the latter would succeed. The Unionists steadily maintained a majority in all the great debates which followed, though the Opposition strenuously seized every 'vantage ground of delay and fought the measure to the last, and the resolution in favour of the Union was finally carried on February 17th, 1800, by a majority of forty-six votes.

CHAPTER VI.

EMMET seems to have gone direct from Fort George to the Continent. He spent the summer of 1800 in Switzerland, and after visiting the south of France and journeying a little way into Spain, he settled in Paris, intending to remain there till his brother's release, when he had almost decided, on his invitation, to accompany him and his family to the United States. The matter was, however, only just mooted then, and though Emmet at first welcomed the idea, he saw reason to abandon it later, as one of his letters, shortly to be quoted, makes clear. His stay in Paris was a very long one, but practically nothing is known of his movements there. When he went to Paris, there seemed to be no prospect of any successful rising in Ireland. But it is clear from Major Sirr's papers that a warrant had been issued for his arrest as far back as the 3rd of April, 1799, though no attempt had been made to execute it. But the fact of its being in existence may have been known to Emmet, and may have induced him to remain on the Continent longer than he at first intended. Extremely few of his letters are known, and of the few three are addressed from Paris.

They were written in French, and a translation of them appeared in a New York newspaper about 1868. Dr. Emmet has given them in his valuable "Memoirs of the Emmet Family," and from that work they are here reproduced. They belong to the latter part of his stay in Paris, and were addressed to the Marquise de Fontenay, who, with her husband, had fled to Ireland during the French Revolution, and had become acquainted with the Emmet family. Unfortunately the originals seem to have disappeared. They are given here exactly as they appear in Dr. Emmet's book.

"PARIS, RUE D'AMBOISE, No. 9,
Oct. 6th, 1801.

"I write to you, my dear Madame, according to promise, though I cannot yet inform you exactly of the time of my departure. I have just learned that my father has put up 'Casino' for sale for £2,000 sterling, and that he expects to dispose of it immediately. I need not tell you how grateful this news was to me. I have at last the hope of having us all united, and of enjoying the only happiness which now remains to us—that of looking back on the past in the society of friends who esteem us, with the full conviction of the purity of our motives.

"I beg you will remember me to M. de Fontenay, and tell how anxious I am to see him. With kind regards to Mr. and Mrs. Bellow (?), believe me, my dear Madame, with sincere attachment, your young friend, "ROBERT EMMET."

The second letter is much longer and more interesting:—

"PARIS, *Dec.* 19*th*, 1801.

"I should have written much sooner, my dear Madame, if I had been able to satisfy you on the two things you inquired about. The Lord Cornwallis, now at Amiens, is the same who was in Ireland; the time he is to remain there is uncertain; a month has been spoken of, but as his stay is not fixed, you should lose no time if you have anything to send to him. For my part, it is with very great pleasure that I communicate to you the news which has just reached me this evening. Two of the prisoners of Fort St. George, Tennent and ——— have been already set at liberty, and the others are expected to be immediately liberated. I feel also glad to inform you that I had some time ago formed the resolution of not soliciting the interference of this Government, but of simply asking whether they had yet made any stipulation for us or not. This I did, and having received an evasive answer, I left the place without making any demand, telling them at the same time, that we merited their intervention at least as much as the patriots of Naples. I first learned by a letter from London, that the principal motive that influenced the British Government in making the peace, was the declaration of Lord Cornwallis, that if ten thousand men landed in Ireland, the country would be infallibly lost. I have also been informed by a

gentleman coming from London, that it is the intention of the British Government to proclaim a general amnesty, and to provide a system of conciliation in Ireland. So that, if we have not found friends to acknowledge or appreciate our services, we found enemies at least capable of estimating our importance.

"I am in want of nothing, my dear Madame. If I were, I am quite convinced of the friendly interest you take in me, apart from the affectionate manner in which you wrote to me; but in this respect, the liberality of my father has left me in want of nothing.

"I shall write home without delay, as much to learn the opinion of my friends on the subject of this news, as to speak of the estate you mention; if I have anything more positive I shall let you know at once.

"Farewell, dear Madame, kindest regards to M. de Fontenay. "R. EMMET.

"P.S.—It is said in the papers that Lord Cornwallis and the other members are going to spend some time at Morfortaine, at Joseph Bonaparte's, until the opening of Congress, so you will have time sufficient to execute your projects.

"To MADAME GABRIELLE DE FONTENAY,
Chez Madame de Ruray, à Ponce, près Mountoine par Vendôme, Loire et cher."

The third letter is the most important of the three, as it speaks of Emmet's future plans. It

shows that Emmet had abandoned any idea of settling in America.

"*Saturday, April 24th,* 1802.

"I was prevented from writing to you, dearest Madame, by a sore eye, from which I suffered for the last two months. I was obliged to consult a physician, in the absence of my friend Lawless, who left Paris for some time. I am, however, now nearly well.

"The news contained in your letter gave me great pain, and I feel deeply for all you had to suffer in a country which is no longer for you what it once was; and I sympathize the more with you from the fact that I believe I am myself on the point of making a sacrifice by returning to Ireland, which, though it is by no means so great a one as yours is, will, nevertheless, be a very painful one to me. The letter which I enclose in this will probably give you the same information which I received this morning. My brother is determined to make America his residence when he obtains his liberty, and he is anxious, if my ideas agree with his, that I should accompany him. The rest of my family will be obliged to remain in Ireland, so that just when I supposed that the peace would enable us all to be united, I have left for alternative but to choose between those who are dear to me in this world, and decide on which I must abandon. If I only thought of myself, if I only took into consideration the sorrows that are before me in Ireland, and the advantages I

would find in the society of my brother, I would joyfully share his fate; but, on the other hand, I find that my father and mother have left me perfectly free to make my choice, and have made the sacrifice of their own wishes, and that sacrifice shows me that I must not allow myself to be carried away by personal motives.

"I have, therefore, determined on returning to Ireland, provided I can do so without contracting any engagement that might compromise my honour. No one better than you, dear Madame, knows how much has cost me the resolution of returning to a country where, in the presence of all that must awaken the souvenirs of the past, I must forget everything—that I had hopes, friends, tender ties perhaps. I am not, however, certain that this can be done; and I doubt it myself. I am not, in any case, to leave until time will show us more clearly the intention of the British Government; but this uncertainty is still more painful. You see that I open my mind fully to you; but I do so because I am aware that the interest that you take in us is fully equal to that we take in your welfare and those (!) of M. de Fontenay. Farewell, dear Madame. I remain sincerely your friend,

"R. EMMET.

"P.S.—The letters which I enclose in this were brought by Mr. Barnes, of Dublin, and, I believe, they contain a letter of introduction for himself.

I was forced to take off the envelope to put them in with mine. I see by the English papers that the prisoners of Fort St. George are to be liberated; but I doubt, more and more, that I can return to my native country. My address is 298 Rue de la Loi.

"MADAME GABRIELLE DE FONTENAY,
Ponce, près Mountoine, Loire et cher."

The Fontenays are referred to as friends of the Emmet family in Mrs. Emmet's letters; but the allusions are very slight, and not interesting enough to warrant their being quoted here.

At this time it will be seen that there is no mention of an insurrection in Ireland. There seemed no hope for the country, and the prospect of a speedy peace between France and England made one of the most persistent hopes of the United Irishmen fade away into nothing. A little later, however, when the Fort George prisoners were released, their hopes momentarily revived, and in the probable event of a fresh collision between England and France, another effort to rouse the Irish people was almost certain to be made. It is thought by Madden that Robert Emmet was cognizant of the plans of the United Irishmen, and delayed on the Continent in order to assist in the *pour-parlers* between them and the French Government. He seems to have spent a good deal of his time studying military science; among the books belonging to him which fell into

the hands of Dr. Madden being one on the subject, with various marginal notes in his handwriting. Before leaving Paris, Emmet had an interview with Bonaparte, which proved to him that the latter had no intention of concluding more than a brief peace with England, and gave him hopes of a speedy invasion. He was, nevertheless, unfavourably impressed with the First Consul, who referred him to Talleyrand, with whom he had several conversations. Bonaparte, he gathered, was opposed to the creation of an independent republic in Ireland, whereas Talleyrand was in favour of it. Bonaparte, he thought, was, too, obviously thinking only of the aggrandisement of France and himself, and was only in favour of the Irish struggle in so far as it helped that policy or damaged England. War did not break out between France and England till May, 1803, and by that time the Irish leaders had practically given up all belief in the likelihood of French serviceableness to Ireland. Bonaparte had, according to Arthur O'Connor, expressed himself against any such attempt as had been outlined to him to raise an insurrection. Dr. M'Nevin, in a memorandum which he drew up on the matter, says that Emmet did not know, even in 1802, of the plot of a new Irish insurrection, all which goes to substantiate the opinion of the author of "Memoirs of the Emmet Family" that he was entrapped into his abortive rebellion by false representations made to him by emissaries of

the Government. "In 1802," says M'Nevin, "when T. A. Emmet arrived in Brussels from Edinburgh, his brother came to meet him from Paris, and stayed there until towards November, when he returned to his family in Ireland. At the time he was in Brussels, he (Robert) had no knowledge of any design being then entertained in Ireland to make another attempt to throw off the British yoke; but communications were soon made to him when in Dublin, supported by returns and details, which gave him assurance that the population of *seventeen counties* would be brought to act, if only one successful effort were made in the metropolis; and to secure this, select bodies of men were to arrive unknown in the city from different quarters. It was hard to reject the proposition of taking part in the enterprise, and difficult to obtain any other knowledge of the reality of the means than what was furnished by the persons who projected, proposed, and were to be performers in the proposed undertaking."

Before Emmet returned to Ireland he dined one day with Lord Cloncurry and Surgeon Lawless. "Emmet," said Cloncurry, "spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores and ran down his forehead." All those who knew him at the time agree that he did not originate the proposal of an armed insurrection in Ireland in 1803. It has been said above that Bonaparte was opposed to the idea. Arthur

O'Connor, who is the authority for the statement, thus alludes to the matter. O'Connor was strongly opposed to it himself, but was bitterly prejudiced against Thomas Addis Emmet, and in consequence may be assumed to speak with some bias against Robert Emmet. Throughout his statement O'Connor speaks of himself in the third person:

"The whole of the plans connected with Robert Emmet's plot were directed by the faction (T. A. Emmet, Neilson, etc.), but were not communicated to him (O'Connor) by them. Robert Emmet's plans were divulged to him by the French Government, who continued to treat with him as the accredited Irish ambassador, recognised as such by it, and known only as such by the Irish Directory. The person in Paris who in this party had the most influence, was Russell, and the project devised by him and Emmet gave the finishing blow to the United Irish confederacy—Dowdall was engaged in this plot, but he (O'Connor) knows not what became of him. Bonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt and of those engaged in it.

"He (O'Connor) was apprised of the insurrection in 1803, but had no part in it; he looked on it as an act of madness. He had no connection with the Emmets, disapproved of them both. . . . As to Robert Emmet's attempt, how call that a plan which vanished in smoke the moment it saw

the light, and that instantly ended in the ruin of all those who were engaged in it. If those in France, who excited Robert Emmet, were in Ireland when the attempt was made, they would have been the first to condemn it as the height of madness—his brother Thomas the first; but they were so unhappy in their exile in France, that they hazarded everything in Ireland that offered them a chance of their return."*

O'Connor did not know that Emmet had ever been in Paris at all, and he says that Allen, the United Irishman, "who was constantly with Robert Emmet," and who gave him "a most minute account of their mad project," never suggested to him that Emmet had ever left Dublin. O'Connor says Thomas Addis Emmet knew of his brother's intention, and had mentioned it to the French Government, who consulted him about it. But the latter is a prejudiced witness, and it would be unsafe to place too much reliance on his views and opinions. Watty Cox's description of Emmet and of his project may be given here as supplementary of O'Connor's. He was in a better position to know the facts than the Franco-Irish General:

"Some time in the beginning of the year 1803 Emmet's ardent and impetuous mind, impatient at what he conceived to be the degraded condition of his country, contemplated the possibility of throwing off the English Government and erecting

* Madden, Vol. ii., pp. 235-6.

in its place an Irish republic. We regret to say (because his country has lost one of her best children) that his judgment did not keep pace with his rapid fancy, great mind, and honest thinking. He was surrounded with a crowd of men, most of whom had no merit but the assumption of such character as they knew he admired, and none of them had any property. Idle and fashionable, they listened with raptures to his lessons on liberty—they appear this day to have been as deficient in principle as they were incapable of advising; they lived at his table, and were literally covered with his clothes. They had not spirit to check the impassioned zeal he constantly exhibited, lest his judgment, being awakened, would quell the enthusiasm that ruled him, and an abandonment of his plans would precede their dismissal. Prudence was skilfully drowned in the noisy approbation of men who could not exist but on the continuation of delusion. No one honest man appeared to interrupt the unthinking precipitation that his ardent imagination painted for the future glory of his country. No man ventured to show to his recollection the inevitable ruin that would attend a handful of young men with no resources but their leader's property, with no arms but about ten thousand pikes, thirty or forty bad muskets, and a hundredweight of gunpowder, as an adequate physical force and sufficient munitions of war, to be applied to taking possession of one of the most populous cities in Europe, from a garrison of ten

thousand men. After allowing him to be misled by fictitious enumerations of men who were never consulted, and of military stores that were not existing, they added the character of the pander to the coward; they were seen throwing into the streets on the fatal night the expensive uniforms which his money purchased, and seeking their safety by flight at the arduous moment when their more intrepid and humble associates were on the point of carrying the Castle by a *coup de main*. It was on the perilous moment these wretches fled—a panic ensued, a minute was lost—and in vain the intrepid youth attempted to rally his intimidated followers; after some ineffectual struggles they submitted to the misfortunes which their credulity led them into; they fled, and the field remained in the hands of their antagonists. Abandoned by his officers—if we may call such cowards by such honourable appellation—the misled and infatuated youth strayed in different directions and hiding places. Afraid to involve his friends or kindred in his misfortunes, he studiously avoided all who could assist him and the refuge they might give him. He was at length betrayed and executed. He met death with becoming fortitude and with the most exemplary attention to religion."

But it is necessary to return to the Continent.

CHAPTER VII.

BEFORE returning to Ireland, Emmet went to visit his brother, who was at this time released, and had been travelling in Holland and Belgium. Thomas Addis Emmet, in a letter to M'Nevin, addressed from Brussels, gives as his reason for not going to America at once "the uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here." Robert Emmet, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, one of the United Irishmen, saw his brother in Amsterdam in the August of 1802, and later, for the last time, in Brussels. In the letter to M'Nevin, quoted above, Thomas Addis Emmet, writing on November 8th, says: "It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, etc., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that, besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith." Dr. Madden suggests that the elder Emmet was acquainted with Robert's plans for a new insurection, and that indeed the latter's presence abroad

for so long a time was due to the necessity of consulting the various United Irish exiles. He prints a story of his tramping through Normandy on foot on his way back to England, which does not seem very probable, but may be quoted here. It is to this effect:

"An Englishman of the name of Lawrence—a very worthy and honest man—who had been in France all through the Revolution, in 1802 was settled at Andemar, between Caen and Honfleur, in Normandy, where he carried on the business of a tanner. In the year above mentioned, he stated to Mr. M'Henry of Paris, that a stranger came to his house on a cold winter's night, and asked for shelter, saying that he had been travelling on foot, and had lost his way. The stranger turned out to be Robert Emmet. He was hospitably received by Mr. Lawrence, and after a day or two his desperate enterprise was disclosed to the latter, who did all that was in his power to dissuade him from it. Emmet remained with him for some weeks, and during that time, was dressed as a workingman in order to avoid the notice of his countrymen. At length he embarked at Honfleur for England, and Mr. Lawrence heard no more of him till the tidings came of his arrest and execution. It would appear that poor Emmet's usual power of fascinating those who came in contact with him was felt by Lawrence, who never spoke of him but in terms of enthusiastic admiration and affection."

Emmet arrived in Dublin early in October 1802, and appears to have stayed at his father's for a little while, afterwards removing to a Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's Cross, where he was known by the name of Hewit. He dined soon after his arrival with John Keogh, the leader of the Catholics of those days, at his house in Mount Jerome. According to Madden, Curran was present, and "the conversation turned on the political state of the country—on the disposition of the people with respect to a renewal of the struggle. Robert Emmet," Madden continues, "spoke with great vehemence and energy in favour of the probability of success, in the event of another effort being made. John Keogh asked, in case it were, how many counties did he think would rise? The question was one of facts and figures. Robert Emmet replied that nineteen counties could be relied on; and turning to Curran, he said, 'Would you say an attempt should not be made with less?' Curran, after a momentary pause, said, 'No; if there were two counties that could be thoroughly depended on, I would think about it.'"

With all respect to Madden's energy in collecting all gossip, reliable and unreliable, about Emmet, this story is obviously apocryphal. It is as absurd as it is badly told. Curran was the last man in Dublin at any time, and especially at that time, to commit himself to the statement attributed to him; and Emmet, whatever he may have said to Keogh and others, would hardly have selected Curran as

the person to ask for advice as to the probabilities of a successful rising. Many of Madden's statements are highly exaggerated and must be received with suspicion, unless properly corroborated, and the above story is not peculiar in being set down as undoubted and undoubtable without any evidence of any kind to sustain it. Madden does not say where or from whom he obtained this account of the dinner at Keogh's.

In this connection perhaps it would be well to refer to the sequel to the supposed guilty knowledge of Keogh of Emmet's plans. He was known to be a very wealthy man, and probably the Government assumed that he would be one of the likely people to subsidise an armed insurrection—not that he ever gave them any reason to suppose that he was an advocate of extreme politics. After Emmet's arrest, the Government, according to Madden, sent emissaries to Keogh to examine his papers. He had that evening, according to the same authority, separated some which he thought should be destroyed, but did not like to burn them, as the ashes in the grate might incriminate him. He gave up all the papers, sealed, and was given a receipt for them, and afterwards went to the Castle to ask that they might be examined, but could not see "the secretary." He called again and again, and finally got his papers back with the seals unbroken. His clever ruse, if this story is to be believed, succeeded admirably, for his widow stated that some of the documents were gravely compromising.

There is an extraordinary passage in Dr. Emmet's "Memoirs of the Emmet Family" which cannot be passed over. The gist of it is as follows: Dr. Emmet was given a permit some years ago to enable him to look over some of the State papers from 1798 to 1804, which were believed to be among the London records. But it was found that this particular section had been transferred to Dublin Castle for purposes of examination and classification. The late Sir Bernard Burke, then Ulster King-at-Arms, informed Dr. Emmet that he could not see the papers in question, as he (Burke) had called attention to the danger to the public good incurred in allowing these documents to be examined by any one save the officials. The Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Lieutenant, had accordingly directed the box in which they were contained to remain closed for a certain term of years, and Burke showed Dr. Emmet the identical box, with the injunction he had referred to in the handwriting of the Viceroy. In course of time, however, and after Burke became better acquainted with his visitor, he gave him, confidentially, a slight idea of the nature of the papers in the box. Sir Bernard Burke admitted that he had only partially examined the documents in question, but had a clear recollection of some of them. Dr. Emmet promised to keep the matter confidential; but circumstances occurred which, in his opinion, justified him in breaking

this confidence. The circumstances are—that while Burke was ill, and just before his death, the box of papers was removed or destroyed by the Tory Government of the day. This became known when, during the Liberal administration which followed, permission was given to examine the papers, and they could not be found.

According to Sir Bernard Burke's confidential statement (not, of course, in writing), the methods employed by the Government to bring about the Union were (apparently) even worse than have been supposed. These the papers fully detailed; but the point of most interest to Dr. Emmet was Burke's declaration that the Government had got up Emmet's rebellion in order to divert the public attention, and to allay the restlessness of English public opinion over the Napoleonic wars. He positively asserted that he had seen among the papers a letter from Pitt addressed to Secretary Marsden in Ireland "directing that another outbreak" should be fomented, and "suggesting that Robert Emmet, who was in Paris, should be approached for the purpose." An unbroken chain of evidence existed in the papers to show that, in pursuance of this fell purpose, a Government agent went to Paris, saw Emmet (not, of course, in the character of an agent of the Government), and induced him, by false representations of the state of affairs, to return tó Ireland. The papers also showed, said Burke, that Emmet was facilitated in every way in his return, and it was clear

that the Government was fully aware of every step he took, and yet allowed the movement to reach the height at which it was thought expedient to crush it. It is curious that Dr. Madden, independently of this revelation, of which he never heard of course, more or less corroborates Dr. Emmet's statement.

The passages in which he deals with the matter are, though strictly belonging to a later chapter, worth giving here:

"In Major Sirr's papers, deposited in Trinity College Library, there is a very remarkable memorandum in his handwriting, appended to an information respecting Robert Emmet's insurrection in 1803. In this memorandum, which I copied in the latter part of 1857, but unfortunately have mislaid, he states that the Government had been apprised, previously to the outbreak, that a conspiracy was on foot for its overthrow; but the information given was discredited, and no action whatever was taken in it—such was the false security of the Government of the day. But he had reason to believe that in future no similar information would be so neglected by the Irish Government.

"In the same collection of papers of Major Sirr, in the volume for 1803, and a succeeding volume containing miscellaneous letters, of dates from 1798 to 1803, I find various letters of spies and informers, of the old battalion of testimony of 1798, giving information to the Major of treason-

able proceedings, meetings, preparing pikes, etc., being in existence in the three months preceding the outbreak of the insurrection of the 23rd July, 1803. In the latter volume are many similar letters from a Roman Catholic gentleman in Monasterevan, suggesting arrests to the Major, and amongst others the arrest of a gentleman of some standing in society, a Brigadier-Major Fitzgerald.

"A month before the outbreak, notice was given to Government by two members of the Merchants' Yeomanry Corps, Messrs. Hawkesley and Rutherford, respectable merchants, who had been deputed by their corps to wait on Lord Hardwicke, to acquaint him with the intended revolt. An interview was granted, and they stated that their representations were not believed. It was no wonder if they were not; for there probably had not been a week, for the last half century, when the Government had not received some alarming intelligence of an intended disturbance of the peace —a tumult, a riot, a conspiracy of some kind, or an insurrection. Nevertheless, there are proofs on record, that cannot be denied, that the authorities (that is to say, Mr. Wickham, the Chief Secretary, and Mr. Marsden, the Under Secretary), did know certainly, for four months previously to the outbreak, that preparations were making for an insurrection. The papers of Major Sirr can leave no doubt on that point. The Parliamentary debates of 1803–4, moreover, prove that *some*

*members** of the Government unquestionably had a knowledge of the preparations. In all probability, the British Ministry had much ampler information on that subject, from their agents in Paris, than Lord Hardwicke, at an early period, had in Ireland. The policy of the British Minister seems to have been to allow the conspiracy to go on, of which he held the threads in his hand, and, therefore, could eventually count on its defeat, in order to derive the benefit which would accrue from the suppression of an abortive insurrection, and thus to deter the people from a similar attempt at a moment more unfavourable for England to cope with it—the moment so long apprehended of an invasion of some part of the United Kingdom. Castlereagh's practised hand was manifest enough in this procedure in 1803."

The papers of Major Sirr fully bear out the statement of Madden, that the Government was aware of the coming insurrection, and this, taken in conjunction with the non-arrest of Emmet, for whom, as has been stated, a warrant had been issued years before, go far to prove Sir Bernard Burke's declaration to be within, at least, the region of probability.

Dr. Madden says in another part of his work: "There is no doubt that the conspiracy of 1803 originated, not with Robert Emmet, but with parties in Ireland *who contrived to keep their real objects undiscovered and their names, too, un-*

* The italics are Madden's.

*revealed**—who managed to have projects of renewed rebellion taken up by leaders of 1798 who escaped expatriation—men not of the highest order, intellectually or morally—who, having remained in Ireland, found means to enter into communication with some of the principal leaders then in France, and through them with the First Consul and his Ministers." Again: "Nothing can be more clear, from the official documents and Parliamentary papers I have placed before my readers, than that Lord Hardwicke was kept in total ignorance of the preparation for Robert Emmet's conspiracy till the very evening of the outbreak on the 23rd of July, and that Mr. Marsden was in possession of all the secret knowledge that was necessary to have enabled the Government to have seized on Emmet and his associates four months before that outbreak, and to have prevented the insurrection from ever having been attempted at all. But that result would not have suited Lord Castlereagh."

Madden goes on to suggest that the traitors of 1798, not yet discovered, were utilised by the Government to deceive the United Irishmen abroad, and to represent Ireland as ripe for another insurrection. There is every reason to believe he was perfectly correct in his conclusion that Emmet was betrayed into the ill-fated attempt at a fresh rebellion by the Government emissaries. Before leaving this matter, there is a sentence in a letter

* The italics are Madden's.

of Grattan's to Fox, dated December 12th, 1803, which is illuminative. He says: "Mr. Pitt had never been able *to raise a rebellion by his measures* if he had not been assisted by the gross manners of his partisans." Grattan, of course, alludes to the events of the year 1803.

CHAPTER VIII.

DR. MADDEN quotes the recollections of Mr. David Fitzgerald (father of the late Irish judge, the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald), who was among those arrested in 1803, but subsequently released on account of his youth, being then only eighteen, as to the earlier arrangements made by Emmet for the rebellion. Mr. Fitzgerald was a near relative of the Mr. Long he refers to, and was personally acquainted with Emmet. His account is as follows:

"Robert Emmet came over from France in October, 1802. Very soon after his arrival he dined at Mr. Philip Long's in Crow Street, of the house of Roche & Long, general merchants. . . . When he arrived in Dublin, he professed to have come over about his private affairs, and not about public matters. He went into society, and visited people of consequence; he dined occasionally at James Ryan's of Marlborough Street—the gentleman who was styled Duke of Marlborough—and also at Mr. George Evans'.

"The preliminary articles of peace were signed the end of October, 1801. This had put an end to any idea of attempting a new struggle at that period; but when war was about to be declared in

March, 1803, this altered the aspect of affairs in Ireland. Then Emmet began to talk seriously of preparations. Mr. Long contributed the funds. All the money transactions between Mr. Emmet and him passed through Fitzgerald's (the narrator's) hands. Mr. Long advanced altogether to Emmet about £1,400. . . . The first money advanced to Mr. Emmet was in May, 1803. All the money thus advanced was lost. Mr. Long was then rich—he was always generous. He died in reduced circumstances, but not in absolute poverty." Fitzgerald's recollections of what happened subsequently will be used later.

It has been generally believed that the entire funds used in the preparation of the insurrection were provided by Emmet, and consisted in £3,000 left him by his father. But it seems clear that Emmet never received more than £1,500 from his father's estate (Lord Castlereagh's statement in the Parliamentary debate on the affair of 1803 was that he had got £3,000); and it is certain that other people contributed sums as well as Emmet. Long certainly did, as we know from sources other than the one referred to.

The elder Emmet died on December 9th, 1802, in the 73rd year of his age, and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Aungier Street, on the 12th. By his will he left the reversion of a sum of £2,100 to his son Robert, to be paid after his mother's death; his property in Kerry and his Miltown house, etc., to his son Thomas Addis Emmet; and

after providing for his daughters, left his residue to be divided, share and share alike, between his two sons aforesaid. Dr. Madden could only trace sums amounting altogether to £337, 14s. 0d. as being remitted to Emmet between the dates September 1st, 1801, and August 13th, 1802, less than one year, but it is probable that on his return to Dublin his father made some provision for the younger son; and his friends, according to Madden, placed the amount which he possessed after his father's death, at about £1,500.

In the latter part of 1802, just before Dr. Emmet's death, his house, Casino, near Miltown, Co. Dublin, was searched by Major Swan. He came there late in the day, says Madden, and asked to see the younger Emmet. The Doctor replied that he had gone into town early that morning; after which Swan looked more or less perfunctorily into some rooms on the ground floor and then departed, saying as he went, "I am very glad I did not find your son Robert at home." This statement was communicated to Dr. Madden by John Patten, brother-in-law of Robert Emmet, who also said that Dr. Emmet had no knowledge of his son's project of an insurrection.

"Dr. Emmet," says Madden, "had strange notions about Robert; he frequently spoke to Mr. Patten of the difference of manner and appearance of Robert from his brothers. He had not the gravity or sedateness of Temple and Thomas Addis Emmet; his boyishness of air and apparent

unfitness for society, or unwillingness to engage in active intercourse with men of the world, made the poor old doctor uneasy about Robert's destiny.... On one occasion, when Dr. Emmet was talking in this strain at Casino to Mr. Patten, the latter said that he attributed the peculiarities mentioned by the Doctor to the extreme diffidence of Robert—he was so modest, reserved, and retiring, that he seemed unconscious of his own powers. The old Doctor said such was not the case when Robert's mind *was* made up on any point—he had no diffidence—no distrust—no fear of himself. 'If Robert,' said his father, 'was looking out of that window, and saw a regiment passing that was about to be reviewed, and was informed that the Colonel had just fallen from his horse and was incapacitated for his duty, and it was intimated to him that he might take the Colonel's place, and put his taste for the reading of military tactics and evolutions to the test, Robert would quietly take his hat, place himself at the head of the regiment, and give the necessary commands without any misgivings or *mauvaise honte*.'

"I asked Mr. Patten," proceeds Madden, "what did this kind of self-confidence arise from—was it from vanity? was Robert personally vain? was he vain of his talents?—of his intellectual superiority over others in any attainment, in argument or discourse? Mr. Patten's answer was in these words:

"'From vanity! Oh! dear, no—Robert had not

a particle of vanity in his composition. He was the most free from self-conceit of any man I ever knew. You might live with him for five years—ay, for ten years—in the same house—in the same room even, and never discover that he thought about himself at all. He was neither vain of his person nor his mind.'"

With reference to Emmet's personal appearance, mention may be made here of one or two descriptions of him which are on record. The first one Madden obtained from a Mr. John Fisher, who says: "I knew Robert Emmet's person very well. In 1803, he appeared to be not more than 26 years of age, of gentlemanly appearance, possessing handsome features, inclined to a dark complexion; not exceeding in stature five feet six inches." Dr. Madden's description, presumably also obtained from those who knew Emmet, is more particular: "In stature he was about five feet eight inches; slight in his person, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue; he walked fast, and was quick in his movements. His features were regular; his forehead high and finely formed; his eyes were small, bright, and full of expression; his nose sharp, remarkably thin, and straight; the lower part of his face was slightly pock-pitted, and his complexion sallow. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance except when excited in conversation, and when he spoke in public on any subject that deeply interested him. His countenance then beamed with animation—he no longer

seemed the same person—every feature became expressive of his emotions—his gesture, his action, everything about him seemed subservient to the impulses of generous feelings, and harmonised with his passing thoughts."

Dr. Elrington, the Provost of Trinity College, who sent, unasked, a description of Emmet's appearance, wanted for the *Hue and Cry*, furnished one which he seems to have thought likely to earn him the gratitude of the authorities. It is certainly not a flattering one of Emmet as he was "five years ago." "In 1798, he was near twenty years of age; of an ugly sour countenance; small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty brownish complexion; at a distance looks as if somewhat marked with the smallpox; about five feet six inches high; rather thin than fat, but not of an emaciated figure —on the contrary, somewhat broad-made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms."

The letter in which this description occurs was written on the 7th of June, nearly two months before the breaking out of the insurrection, but the Government did not act upon it. Meanwhile, Emmet was in concealment. His first residence after leaving his father's was, as already stated, at a Mrs. Palmer's at Harold's Cross, where he lodged under the name of Hewit. "The house in Harold's Cross,"* says Madden, "where Robert Emmet lodged soon after his arrival in Ireland, and a second time, after the failure in July, is situated

* The house no longer exists.

on the left-hand side of the road, at a short distance from the canal bridge. The house is a small one, a little further back from the roadside than the adjoining ones, and had wooden palings in front of it." Madden goes on to say that Emmet "left Mrs. Palmer's in the course of the same month, and on the 27th of April got possession of a house in Butterfield Lane, in the vicinity of Rathfarnham, which was taken on lease in the name of Ellis; and while Emmet remained there he went by the name of Robert Ellis. The same contrivances which poor Emmet had recourse to in his former abode were vainly put in practice at his lodgings in Harold's Cross. In the back parlour, which was his sitting room, he made an aperture in the wall, low down, nearly on a level with the flooring, large enough to admit a man's body; the masonry had been excavated inwards, in a slanting direction; there was sufficient space thus made to enable him to draw his body in, and to place a board painted the colour of the wainscot against the open aperture, when he had thus drawn himself in. His active preparations commenced in the month of March, and the most authentic account of them that I have been able to obtain was communicated to me by James Hope," (one of the Northern Irish leaders). Hope's recollections are among the most definite of those obtained by Madden, and it is necessary to give them almost in their entirety.

"Mr. Emmet," says Hope, "was not, as has

been supposed, the originator of the preparations of 1803. These had begun in Dublin to second an effort in England, expected by some other Irishmen, under Colonel Despard.* This information found its way from Ireland to the British Government, through the imprudence of Dowdall† in Dublin, who was Colonel Despard's agent—namely, that some preparation had been begun there to second the Colonel's effort. Information of Dowdall's proceedings, on the other hand, had reached the refugees in Paris, by whom Robert Emmet was sent to Dublin to ascertain the state of things there. He fell into the hands of men by whom he was advised to go on with the necessary preparations for an effectual rising, with a solemn promise of every assistance in money and advice. Mr. Emmet came over first, Hamilton‡ next came, and Quigley§ about the same time. Hamilton was sent back to Paris to bring over Russell,‖ who came over immediately, and I soon was placed in close communication with him. Mr. Emmet, soon after his arrival, had lodgings at Harold's Cross in the house in which he was ultimately taken after having quitted Butterfield Lane. Both Emmet

* A native of Queen's County, who was tried and executed in London in February, 1803.

† William Dowdall, one of the '98 men and a Fort George prisoner.

‡ Counsellor William Hamilton, a nephew of Thomas Russell.

§ Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffey, Co. Kildare.

‖ Thomas Russell, Emmet's closest friend.

and Russell were strongly opposed to the party called 'foreign aid men,' and I had been so from the beginning. Situated as the Irish exiles were in Paris, they were easily duped into a fresh struggle by the information they received from some of the higher order in Ireland, who had some suspicion of what was going on, but no precise knowledge of the design.

"Some persons in connection with Talleyrand, in 1802, gave the Irish refugees to understand that Bonaparte was in treaty with the British Government to banish them from France, their residence there not being considered favourable to Bonaparte's imperial views. A fabricated letter came to the north, dated from Paris, about this time, purporting to be from a captain of a French lugger, off the Giants' Causeway, having 10,000 stand of arms on board, for the service of the United Irishmen. The letter was in bad English: the paper, however, was English manufacture—it was fabricated by our enemies. The fire of 1798 was not quite extinguished—it smouldered, and was ready to break out anew. There were persons of distinction in the confidence of our leaders, who kept up communication with them in exile, and were in league with the oligarchy at home, which Russell and Emmet, from the purity of their intentions, never suspected.

"At my first interview with Mr. Emmet, on his arrival from France, he told me that 'some of the first men of the land had invited him over;' he

asked my opinion, 'Was I for an appeal to arms?' I replied, 'I was.' After some further conversation, he said 'his plan was formed.'

"On my second interview with Mr. Emmet, he told me he would require my constant assistance, and said that two stores were taken, and workmen had been selected. Mr. Emmet engaged in this attempt in consequence of promises from the upper ranks of assistance to make the preparation general over the island. When money failed, however, treachery in the upper ranks began to appear, as in all former struggles. No money was forthcoming, and Mr. Emmet had no alternative but to shut the stores and discharge the men, which must be attended with the worst consequences; or go to work with what resources he had, which, if properly directed, were fully sufficient to take the city and Castle of Dublin.

"On making a remark to Mr. Emmet respecting the defection of Colonel Plunket,* he said: 'There were many who professed to serve a cause with life and fortune, but if called on to redeem their pledge, would contrive to do it with the lives and fortunes of others. For my part,' said he, 'my fortune is now committed; the promises of many whose fortunes are considerable are committed likewise, but their means have not been as yet forthcoming. If I am defeated by their conduct, the fault is not mine. Even my defeat will not save the system which I oppose, but the time will

* One of the '98 men and chief of the Connaught forces then.

come when its greatest advocates cannot live under the weight of its iniquity; until which time my reasons for the present attempt will not be fully understood, except by the few who serve and may suffer with me. The elements of dissolution are gathering round the system by which these three islands are governed, and the Pitt system will accelerate its fall.'

"Having been Mr. Emmet's constant attendant for some months, on our way from the depot in Dublin to his house in Butterfield Lane, many conversations of this kind have passed, and many things that I learned from him are sealed up by his last request. In conversing on the state of the country, I expressed an opinion to Mr. Emmet on the subject of the rights of the people in relation to the soil, which, until they were recognised, it would be in vain to expect that the north would be unanimous. On expressing this opinion at some length to Mr. Emmet, his answer was: 'I would rather die than live to witness the calamities which that course would bring on helpless families; let that be the work of others—it shall never be mine. Corruption must exhaust its means before equity can establish even its most reasonable claims.'

"Russell and Hamilton were of Mr. Emmet's opinion on that subject. 'This conspiracy,' said Russell, 'is the work of the enemy; we are now in the vortex—if we can swim ashore, let it not be through innocent blood; if the people are true to themselves, we have an overwhelming force; if

otherwise, we fall, and our lives will be a sufficient sacrifice.' 'One grand point,' said Mr. Emmet, 'at least will be gained. No leading Catholic is committed — we are all Protestants — and their cause will not be compromised.' Shortly after the preceding conversation, I was ordered to go with Russell to the north, a week before the outbreak, and on the following morning Russell and I left Mr. Emmet's house before day. Arthur Devlin* was appointed in my place to attend Mr. Emmet. There was a gentleman from Cork, and also one from the County Meath, in Mr. Emmet's company the day before we left him.

"Mr. Emmet's great object was to attack the Castle, and make hostages of the Viceroy and officers of Government, but the Kildare men were the only men who were at hand; there was a party of Wexford men under Michael Byrne, now in France, at Ringsend, or the neighbourhood of it. Mr. Emmet relied too much on the north when he sent Russell there. The man who was to supply my place, and was entrusted with the arrangements between the people of Dublin and those who were expected from Wicklow, was sent to communicate with Dwyer,† but that man remained at Rathfarnham, and his doing so caused all the plans to fail, for instead of the organised party

* Possibly this Devlin was a brother of Anne Devlin, Emmet's servant at Butterfield Lane.

† The famous Wicklow outlaw, who was co-operating with Emmet.

which was expected, a body of stragglers only appeared in Thomas Street, who killed Lord Kilwarden and a clergyman named Wolfe (whom they should only have detained as prisoners); and Mr. Emmet, seeing nothing but disorder, and having no communication with any regular body, some of whom remained all night under arms, he, with a few friends, returned to Rathfarnham, and the people shifted for themselves. The reason he went to Rathfarnham was that he had dispatched the messenger (Arthur Devlin) to Dwyer in the Wicklow mountains, and expected him by daylight, but Dwyer got no intelligence until he heard of the defeat, or rather miscarriage of Emmet's attempts on Dublin. Arthur Devlin was a relative of Dwyer's, and went with him to Botany Bay. Another man, a cousin of his, named Michael Dwyer, had been likewise sent on a message to Dwyer, and he also neglected his orders; he pretended to go, and stopped near Dublin.

"In the several depots there were no less, to my knowledge, than forty men employed, only three or four of whom became traitors, and that not till their own lives were in danger. The men behaved with the greatest prudence, none seeming to wish to know more than concerned their own department; each man's duty was kept separate and secret from the other. I was first attached to the rocket depot in Patrick Street, and then had to superintend the ammunition in its making up and delivery, and the transporting arms and gun-

powder to the country. Barney Duggan* was chiefly an out-door emissary, employed in carrying on communications. I was in the habit of calling on Mr. Emmet when I wanted instructions through the day, and reporting progress at night. Mr. Emmet had arranged with H. Howley to take the store in Thomas Street in the name of the latter. In this store the pikes, firearms and various implements of war were deposited. M'Intosh,† a Scotchman, about forty years of age, took the house in Patrick Street for another store, for the rockets, grenades, and a depot for gunpowder. . . . The extent of the preparations in Dublin will never be fully known. Considerable quantities of gunpowder were sent to the country, and one stout party in particular, who had defied the power of Government for five years in the mountains of Wicklow, was amply supplied with ammunition and arms." So far James Hope's narrative, which may be supplemented from other sources.

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* Afterwards an informer.

† Executed afterwards in Patrick Street, opposite the store of which he had charge. When examined before Major Sirr, in August, 1803, he said he lived at 26 Patrick Street (the store), and had a lease of twenty-seven years from a Mr. Hugh Holmes.

CHAPTER IX.

EMMET must have made up his mind very promptly, and must have acted on his decision the moment it was formed. We have the authority of his brother-in-law for attributing diffidence to him, but his firmness and confidence, once he felt that the time had come to act, were equally characteristic. There is a letter of his, which was intended for his brother Thomas, but was intercepted by the Government, in which he gives a full and detailed account of his plans for carrying Dublin and the Castle. The letter was written after his conviction, and was handed to Dr. Trevor, the physician at the prison, to forward to Thomas Addis Emmet. Part of it was subsequently discovered at the Castle, and the other portion was found in the Irish Office, London. Here is the document:

"The plan was comprised under three heads: *Points of Attack—Points of Defence—and Lines of Defence.*

"The POINTS OF ATTACK were three—the Pigeon House, the Castle, and the artillery barracks at Island Bridge. The attack was to begin

with the Pigeon House; number of men, 200—the place of assembly, the strand between Irishtown and Sandymount—the time, low water—the men to divide into two bodies—one to cross by a sand-bank, between the Pigeon House and lighthouse, where they were to mount the wall; the other to cross at Devonshire Wharf; both parties to detach three men with blunderbusses, and three with jointed pikes concealed, who were to seize the sentries and the gates for the rest to rush in. Another plan was formed for high water by means of pleasure or fishing boats going out in the morning, one by one, and returning in the evening to the dock at the Pigeon House, where they were to land. A rocket from this was to be the signal for the other two, viz.:

"The Castle—the number of men, 200. The place of assembly, the Patrick Street depot. A house in Ship Street was expected; also one near the gate. A hundred men to be armed with pointed pikes and blunderbusses, the rest to support them, and march openly with long pikes. To begin by the entrance of two job coaches, hackney coachmen, two footmen, and six persons inside, to drive in at the upper gate into the yard, come out of the coaches, turn back, and seize the guard (or, instead of one of the job coaches, a sedan going in at the same time, with two footmen, two chairmen, and one inside); at the same moment a person was, in case of failure, to rap at Lamprey's door, seize it, and let in others, to come down by a scal-

ing ladder from a window on the top of the guard-house; while attacks were made at a public-house in Ship Street, which has three windows commanding the guard-house; a gate in Stephen's Street; another at the Aungier Street end of Great George's Street, leading to the ordnance; another at the new house in George's Street, leading to the riding-yard; and another over a piece of a brick wall near the Palace Street gate. Scaling ladders for all these. Fire-balls, if necessary, for the guard-house of the upper gate. *The Lord Lieutenant and principal officers of Government*, together with the bulk of artillery, to be sent off under an escort to the commander in Wicklow, in case of being obliged to retreat. I forgot to mention that the same was to be done with as much of the Pigeon House stores as could be. Another part, with some artillery, to come into town along the quays and take post at Carlisle Bridge, to act according to circumstances.

"Island Bridge, 400 men. Place of assembly, quarry hole opposite, and burying ground. Eight men with pistols and one with a blunderbuss to seize the sentry walking outside, seize the gates—some to rush in, seize the cannon opposite the gate; the rest to mount on all sides by scaling ladders; on seizing this, to send two cannon over the bridge facing the barrack road. Another detachment to bring cannon down James' Street, another towards Rathfarnham, as before. To each of the flank points when carried reinforce-

ments to be sent, with horses, etc., to transport the artillery. Island Bridge only to be maintained (a false attack also thought of, after the others had been made, in the rere of the barracks, and if necessary to burn the hay stores in rere).

"Three rockets to be the signal that the attack on any part was made, and afterwards a rocket of stars in case of victory; a silent one of repulse. Another point of attack not mentioned, Cork Street Barracks, if the officer could surprise it and set fire to it; if not, to take post to the house (I think in Earl Street, the street at the end of Cork Street leading to Newmarket, looking down the street with musketry, two bodies of pikemen in Earl Street) to the right and left of Cork Street, and concealed from troops marching in that street. Another in (I think) Marrowbone Lane to take them in the rere. Place of assembly, fields adjacent, or Fenton-fields.

"POINTS OF CHECK.—The old Custom House, 300 men—Gate to be seized and guard disarmed; the gate to be shut or stopped with a load of straw, to be previously in the street. The other small gate to be commanded by musketry, and the bulk of the 300 men to be distributed in Parliament Street, Crane Lane, and those streets falling into Essex Street, in order to attack them if they forced out. The jointed pikes and blunderbusses lying under great coats rendered all these surprises unexpected; fire-balls, if necessary, and a beam of rockets.

"An idea also was, if money had been got, to purchase Rafferty's cheese shop, opposite to it, to make a depot of assembly; and to mine under and blow up a part of the Custom House, and attack them in confusion, as also the Castle. The miners would have been got also to mine from a cellar into some of the streets through which the army from the barracks must march. The assembly was at the coal quay.

"Mary Street Barracks, sixty men. A house-painter's house, and one equally removed on the opposite side (No. 36, I believe), whose fire commands the iron gate of the barracks, without being exposed to the fire from it, to be occupied by twenty-four blunderbusses; the remainder pikemen, to remain near Cole's Lane, or to be ready in case of rushing out to attack them. Assembly, Cole's Lane market, or else detached from Custom House body.

"The corner house in Capel Street (it was Killy Kelly's) commanding Ormond Quay, and Dixon, the shoemaker's (or the house beyond it), which open suddenly on the flank of the enemy, without being exposed to their fire, to be occupied by blunderbusses; assembly detached from Custom House only.

"LINES OF DEFENCE.—Beresford Street has six issues from Church Street, viz., Coleraine Street, King Street, Stirrup Lane, Mary's Lane, Pill Lane, and the Quay. These to be chained in the first instance by a body of chainmen; double

chains and padlocks were deposited,* and the sills of the doors marked. The blockade to be afterwards filled up; that on the quay by bringing up the coaches from the stand and oversetting them together with the butchers' blocks from Ormond Market. The houses over the chains to be occupied with hand-grenades, pistols, and stores. Pikemen to parade in Beresford Street, to attack instantly any person that might penetrate; the number, 200. Assembly, Smithfield depot, where were 800 pikes for reinforcements. The object was to force the troops to march towards the Castle, by the other side of the water, where the bulk of the preparations and men to receive them were.

"Merchants' Quay.—In case the army, after passing the Old Bridge, marched that way, Wogan's house and a Birmingham warehouse next to it, to be occupied with musketry, grenades, and stores; also the leather crane at the other end of the quay; a beam to be before the crane, lying across the quay, to be fired at the approach of the enemy's column. A body of pikemen, in Winetavern Street instantly to rush on them in front; another body in Cook Street to do the same by five lanes opening on their flank, and by Bridge Street, in their rere. Another beam in Bridge Street, in case of taking that route, and then Cook Street body to rush out instantly in front, and the

* In the original a sketch is given of these double chains.

quay on the flank.* A beam in Dirty Lane; main body of pikemen in Thomas Street to rush on them instantly on firing the beam. The body on the quay to attack in the rere; in case of repulse, Catherine's Church, Market house, and two houses adjacent that command that street, occupied with musketry. Two rocket batteries near the Market house, a beam before it; body of pikemen in Swift's Alley and that range to rush on their flank after the beam was fired, through Thomas Court, Vicker Street, and three other issues; the corner houses of these issues to be occupied by stores and grenades; the entire of the other side of the street to be occupied with stores, etc.; the flank on this side to be protected by a chain at James' Gate and Guinness' drays, etc.; the rere of it to be protected from Cork Street, in case their officer there failed, by chains across Rainsford Street, Crilly's yard, Meath Street, Ashe Street, and Francis Street. The quay body to co-operate by the issues before mentioned (at the

* "There was also a chain higher up in Bridge Street, as well as diagonally across John Street and across New Row, as these three issues led into the flank of the Thomas Street line of defence, which it was intended only to leave open at the other flank, as it was meant to make them pass completely through the lines of defence. Wherever there were chains, the houses over them were occupied as above, and also such as commanded them in front. For this reason the Birmingham warehouse, looking down Bridge Street, was to be occupied if necessary. There was also to be a rocket factory at the crane, on the quay, and another in Bridge Street. The number of men, 300; assembly, Thomas Street depot."

other side), the chains of which would be opened by us immediately. In case of further repulse, the house at the corner of Cutpurse Row commanding the lanes at each side of the Market house, the two houses in High Street, commanding that open, and the corner houses of Castle Street commanding Skinner Row (now Christchurch Place), to be successively occupied. In case of a final retreat, the routes to be thus—Cork Street to Templeogue; New Street, Rathfarnham; and Camden Street department. The bridges of the Liffey to be covered six feet deep with boards full of long nails bound down by two iron bars, with spikes eighteen inches long, driven through them into the pavement, to stop a column of cavalry, or even infantry."

Emmet adds: "The whole of this plan was given up by me for the want of means, except the Castle, and lines of defence; for I expected three hundred Wexford, four hundred Kildare, and two hundred Wicklow men, all of whom had fought before, to begin the surprises at this side of the water, and by the preparations for defence, so as to give time to the town to assemble."

Before dealing with the remainder of the letter (which is signed "R. E.") describing the causes of the failure, it will be well to revert to the recollections of Bernard Duggan, David Fitzgerald, and others as to the preparations for the insurrection. Emmet's plan was well thought out, and cost him many weeks if not months of anxious effort. He

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was constantly visiting the various places referred to in the plan, and as far as it went on paper, it was admirable. But the lack of money to bring it to completeness was the main cause of its failure. Duggan's recollections are perhaps somewhat tainted by his treachery, but what he says is not anywhere inherently unlikely. In any case some of his statements are worth giving—they refer partly to the preparations for the rising and partly to the actual outbreak. He says:

"Mr. Emmet began his active preparations on 21st March, 1803, having got several of the most confidential men of 1798 to join him, and to assist in the work carried on in the different depots, and in other capacities." (Duggan goes on to give a list of names of the smaller people engaged with Emmet.) "In the afternoon of the 23rd (July) Mr. Emmet sent a sum of sixty guineas to pay for some arms, blunderbusses, and pistols, which he had bought in Dame Street, and was in immediate want of. One of Emmet's confidential men declined going, on account of fatigue; and then Michael M'Daniel, the man who was in the Patrick Street depot when the explosion took place, when making the fuses of rockets (and drinking at the same time), offered to go for the arms. He took the sixty guineas, and never returned more to the depot with the money or arms. . . .

"The rockets were first tried near Irishtown by Emmet and some of his companions; they went

in a horizontal direction a great distance. General Coote was the first man who employed them in India—Emmet told me this, and that he had improved on them; and another has improved on Emmet's, and Congreve has improved on both. The rockets were of the same nature as those called Congreve rockets, but not so perfect. . . .

"Counsellor Hamilton was appointed, with one Smith, to raise the county of Fermanagh and county Cavan; Russell and James Hope were appointed to the county Down for the same purpose; Mr. Nicholas Gray, an attorney, the aide-de-camp of B. B. Harvey at the battle of New Ross, for the county Wexford; Dwyer for the county Wicklow; Mr. Athy for the county Galway; Quigley, Mahon, and Wylde for Kildare; others for different counties, all depending on the taking of Dublin. The quantity of arms and ammunition was very great; a great quantity of ball cartridges, packed in chests, with various sorts of combustibles, about 70,000 pikes and muskets, blunderbusses and pistols. A quantity of these were dispersed among different persons throughout the country, as well as in Dublin; combustibles of various descriptions were prepared to explode in the streets among the troops, when assembled. Most of the powder and ball was got from Mr. Hinchey's, but as for the money, I cannot tell how or where it was obtained. Mr. Hinchey was a grocer, and lived at the corner of Cuffe Street, and was licensed to sell powder; he got the balls run,

or cast, in his own place, and a Mr. Byrne, of New Street, gave a good deal of ball."

"All these preparations," proceeds Duggan's statement, which reads peculiarly after what we have read of the Government's knowledge of the matter, "were kept a profound secret from the Government and their adherents, until the very day of the turn-out. On the Saturday night week previous to the turn-out, an explosion of some combustibles took place in the depot of Patrick Street, which gave some alarm in the neighbourhood. Major Sirr came to examine the house—previous to his coming, our friends removed the remaining powder, arms, etc., and all matters which were movable in the place, notwithstanding some obstruction given by the watchmen. Other arms were secreted in the premises, and were not discovered until some time afterwards. It was concluded that the affair was only some chemical process which had accidentally caused the explosion. This unfortunate occurrence caused a premature rising, which proved abortive. It must be here remarked that those in charge of the depot in Patrick Street did not know or frequent the depot in Marshalsea Lane, but those in Marshalsea Lane had recourse to the depot in Patrick Street. Mr. Emmet had three plans that would effect a revolution without bloodshed, if put into execution at any period; and the reason that none of them were resorted to was, the timidity of his own staff or advisers, the general officers

of districts and counties—such as Lord Edward Fitzgerald had to contend with.

"A few evenings before the outbreak, I was informed by Robert Emmet I would be called on a very important service—namely, to make a prisoner of the commander-in-chief, who was in the habit of walking very early every morning on the Circular Road, in the neighbourhood of Kilmainham. I was to be accompanied by another person, and six more of our associates were to be stationed at a short distance, and to be ready, when called on, to lend assistance to me and my companion. We were to arrest the commander-in-chief, and inform him we had a writ against him, and that we were sheriff's officers, and by compulsion or otherwise, we were to force him into a carriage, and carry him off to Mr. Emmet's. Emmet's staff, from timidity, upset this plan like all his others. I was told that night, when I had made all necessary preparations, that the plan had been abandoned.

"To my knowledge Mr. Emmet had secret friends connected with the Government, who gave him intelligence of all the movements about the Castle. Mr. Emmet, during the preparations making in the depot, had a house in Butterfield Lane, near Rathfarnham; the officers of the counties and several gentlemen often had interviews with him there, but none of those connected with the depots, unless occasionally to carry a message to him, went there. Mr. Emmet went

often to the head depot—both by day and by night the writer was often called to attend him, to act as a bodyguard through the streets, walking on the other side of the way as he went along, and occasionally some men of the former were ready at a moment's notice to defend Mr. Emmet. Previous to the turn-out, Mr. Emmet remained almost entirely in the depots, continually seeing regimentals making, writing proclamations, and receiving communications from the officers of the different counties."

CHAPTER X.

IN the fourth volume of the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh," there are some curious and interesting documents concerning the insurrection, portion of which may be used here. The papers are reports drawn up by Mr. Marsden, the Under-Secretary, and transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant. The first describes the explosion at Patrick Street, which occurred on the 16th of July, and led to a premature outbreak. Marsden says:

"The explosion in Patrick Street on July 16th was not sufficiently loud to occasion a very general observation of it; and it appears that even the windows of the room where it took place were not broken by it. To prevent suffocation, the persons inside broke the glass, and Keenan, who is since dead, cut himself so deeply by running his arm through a pane, that the effusion of blood principally occasioned his death. The danger of fire was what chiefly excited notice, and a fire engine was sent for. On its arrival, the persons in the house refused to admit it, and turned away the men who belonged to it; and it was the complaint of these men to a peace officer which

first excited suspicion of some improper proceedings in the house.

"Two men were wounded, one of them, Keenan, so badly, that he died very soon, and gave no account of how the accident happened. The other, Byrne, a labouring man, was taken into custody. The peace officers made a search in the house, and found saltpetre and other ingredients for making gunpowder, a machine for bruising saltpetre, about a hundred ball cartridges, and some pounds weight of bullets, several short poles, about three feet long, the use of which was not known (they were for jointed pikes), three bayonets, not any pike-heads, nor any firearms. Enough was discovered to excite considerable suspicion; the house was known to belong to M'Intosh, and search was immediately made for him, but he could not be found. Byrne was taken to the Superintendent Magistrate's office, and closely examined. He protested that he had only worked as a common labourer, carrying mortar to build up a wall, and that he had been employed there only from the day preceding.

"It appeared to me to be an object of considerable importance to get information from this man, and therefore, instead of sending him to the gaol or common infirmary, I had him put under the particular care of Surgeon Henthorn, with particular injunctions as to his being kept separate; and the surgeon was enjoined to pay him the strictest attention, and, if possible, to get a dis-

covery from him. The surgeon, as well as a peace officer had several conversations with him, if possible, to learn further particulars; but he never deviated from his first story, which there is now reason to think was true.

"On the day after the explosion, a report was made by two of the watch, that, on the preceding night, they had followed two men carrying a cask; that on being asked by the watch where they were going, they answered, 'Come along with us, and you shall see;' that they rested the cask on the window of a man of the name of Palmer, who lives at the corner of the Coombe and New Street, who opened the door of his house on a private signal being given, and, seeing the watchmen along with the men who had charge of the cask, he shut his door and walked out of the street. The cask fell down, and, some ball cartridges and flints falling out of it, the two men ran away, and left it in the possession of the watchmen, who, after carrying it some way towards their watchhouse, were stopped by a party of men, some having arms, who rescued it from them. The watchmen were joined by others, and assistance was demanded from the guard-house at the Castle; but as only three soldiers were there, and none of them could quit their post, the party escaped."

Marsden goes on to explain that Palmer was arrested, but had to be liberated, as they could get nothing satisfactory from him, although they had the gravest suspicions as to his complicity

in the affair. Marsden adds: "A further search was made in the house in Patrick Street by Major Sirr—a few more ball cartridges were found."

In a second statement made to the Lord Lieutenant, and signed "A. M." (that is, Alexander Marsden), there is some valuable material about the insurrection and the preparations made by the Government to deal with it:

"However uncertain it had been," says Marsden, "during some days preceding Saturday, July 23rd, that a rising was to take place on that day (in a paper already delivered to your Excellency, I have stated the causes of this uncertainty), yet, on the morning of that day, the information received left no longer any doubt of what was intended.

"On coming to the Castle, at some time between half-past eleven and twelve o'clock on that day, I received several communications, some of them secret, others from persons who had come to some knowledge of the intentions, and in some instances, of the actual movements of the disaffected, which made it manifest that the peace of the city must be very seriously disturbed in the course of the ensuing night. Although I conceived it to be of the utmost importance to avoid spreading an alarm until it was certain that danger existed, the only consideration now was by what means the attempt, hitherto so improbable, but now so imminent, was to be defeated; and as the civil power, at no time very efficient in Dublin, was for this purpose wholly inadequate, I thought it

my principal duty, after apprising your Excellency of the probable danger, to take care that the garrison of Dublin, consisting of near 3,000 men, should be informed that their services might be required in the course of the night.

"The Commander of the Forces, I knew, was to be with your Excellency, by appointment, on other business, in the Phœnix Park at two o'clock on that day; and at the same time that I wrote to your Excellency, informing you of the apprehensions which I entertained, I recommended to you to bring General Fox to the Castle in your Excellency's carriage, stating, at the same time, 'that I made this request on no light grounds.' At the same time, I wrote to Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded in the district of Dublin, requesting him to call upon me at the Castle."

Marsden then goes on to say that he had the interview with the Viceroy and General Fox at the Castle, and communicated to them his reasons for thinking there would be a rising that night. If one were to judge matters by the childlike and bland statements of the Under-Secretary, one would imagine that he was not then letting the Lord-Lieutenant into a secret which he himself knew for months—namely, that an insurrection had been maturing for a long time, and that the time had arrived when it could be effectually grappled with. Marsden proceeds:

"Among other things, I recollect having stated that a person in the north of Ireland, who formerly

gave information, had, by letter, assured me that Dublin and Belfast were to be attacked at the same time on the Saturday or Sunday following; and also that a gentleman* who had come from the North, informed me he had heard the same thing. To the first I did not attach implicit credit, for reasons which I then explained; and Mr. Atkinson had his intelligence two or three times removed. I mentioned, however, that a person who was in the secrets of the disaffected, and with whom I frequently communicated, had come to me very soon after I reached the Castle that morning, in much alarm, and assured me that the danger was imminent. I had also been informed by a magistrate that a priest had given him similar intelligence. I remember having stated what Mr. Clarke of Palmerstown, who employed some hundred men in his cotton manufactory, had communicated respecting the riotous disposition of his men, and their determination to quit his work, and to march into Dublin that day, having previously, in the morning, at an unusual hour, insisted on being paid their wages.

"To impede this attempt, I urged the necessity of strengthening the post at Chapelizod, a village which lay between Palmerstown and Dublin. In this General Fox concurred, and orders, it appeared, were given to have it done. The state of the Pigeon House was also talked of. It was known to General Fox that the garrison of Naas

* A Mr. Atkinson.

had been under arms the night before, from an apprehension of being attacked by the townspeople, who had quitted the place. These, I was informed by others as well as by Colonel Wolfe and Mr. Aylmer, had come, some into and others towards Dublin. The latter gentleman had left Naas at eight o'clock in the morning; the town was then deserted by its inhabitants. As he came to Dublin, he had not seen any men, but had met many women going from thence. The fact was beyond question, and so I stated it to be, that an extraordinary number of people had come into town. This circumstance scarcely left a decision with their leaders, who, I think I mentioned, were at that time divided in their councils whether or not an attempt should be made.* Your Excellency and General Fox paid every attention to this statement, occasionally making observations upon it. It was impossible to represent the extent of the disturbance which it was supposed would take place.

"No apprehension was entertained of any degree of success of the insurgents, on account of the several military posts stationed in the city, and from the strength of the Castle guard and its vicinity to the barracks in Parliament Street, where the 62nd Regiment was stationed. It could

* In a note attached to this sentence, it is stated: "It is now known that it was only on the night of July 22nd the rising was determined upon, and that at two o'clock on the 23rd, the Kildare leaders declined to act, and left the city."

not be imagined that the Castle or the public offices in its neighbourhood were to be attacked. The impression which it was meant to convey to General Fox was, that disturbances would, in all probability, take place, and particularly on the side of the avenues which led from Naas and Palmerstown."

Marsden continues his report, including in it an account of the actual insurrection, which will be referred to later. In a third and somewhat disingenuous document furnished by him, there are a few passages describing Emmet's preparations, which are apposite at this stage. It is inaccurate in some particulars, and of course its inferences are often to be discounted:

"It is now known that the design of the attempt which was afterwards made in July last, was conceived in France about the middle of the last winter. . . . Encouraged no doubt by the French Government (who, as well as some of his associates, were probably unacquainted with the whole of his object), the sanguine disposition of the younger Emmet, who was last winter in Paris, led him to conceive a plan for effecting a revolution in Ireland, separating it from England, and establishing an independent power in this country, capable of foreign relations, before the French should have their plans matured for an invasion and a conquest.*

"With this view, there is reason to think that he

* There can be no doubt that Emmet disbelieved in French sincerity, and especially doubted Napoleon.

communicated with several of the exiled Irish then in France, and particularly with his brother, T. A. Emmet, and M'Nevin. The growing prosperity of Ireland,* since the extinction of the rebellion of 1798, might be supposed sufficient to have discouraged such an enterprise; and to those who actually knew the country it must have appeared hopeless, even with the aid of a considerable foreign force. There is reason to think that the ill-judged exaggerations of mail robberies, and particularly of the disorderly scenes which took place in the county of Limerick, were relied upon by Mr. Emmet as sufficient proofs of a disposition ready to act, and generally pervading the country. Many exiled Irish were then on the Continent, but it appears that Mr. Emmet did not succeed in getting more than Russell and Quigley to engage in the expedition to Ireland. . . .

"The report of Russell's return attracted attention; and Quigley's having gone into the county of Kildare soon made his arrival public. Large rewards were offered for his apprehension, and repeated communications had with the gentlemen of the county on the means of having him taken. He remained but a few days in the country, and was afterwards secreted in the depot, which he scarcely at any time left until the rising in July, and, when he did leave it, it was only by night. . . .

"Mr. Emmet was a very young man; he had been expelled from the University of Dublin during

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the time of the Rebellion of 1798, for seditious practices. He fled from the country, and had not, until this year, returned. He conceived the design of providing arms for those whose constancy he relied upon; and full of the opinion that the disposition to revolt was as strong amongst the lower orders of the people as in his own mind, he relied upon it that the whole would be effected, if he could secure a magazine from which, on a sudden, the mob might be armed. The scene of this exploit was fixed in Dublin, and although he held communications with parts of Ireland more distant, it does not appear that they were organized, or that he had made connections with more than a very few of the rebels of 1798.

"Having a mind much turned to military affairs, and being a student in chemistry, he prepared a system of tactics, and at the same time constructed machines (certainly complex and ill-adapted) in which gunpowder was wrought into its most pernicious forms; but he seems to have neglected the more obvious and certain modes of giving force to an effort which could alone be made by the rudest and most inexpert hands. For the purpose of forming this magazine, a warehouse was taken in a yard, in an obscure lane, in a populous but unobserved quarter of the city. A carpenter in Emmet's confidence was the ostensible proprietor; and in this yard and warehouse were prepared the pikes and ammunition which were afterwards to be delivered to the mob. Quigley,

on returning from Kildare, where he stayed only a few days, concealed himself in this depot, as it was termed, and was out of it only three or four times until the insurrection broke out. But a very few were trusted with the secret of this depot (not more than eight persons), about one-half of whom remained constantly in it, working with their own hands in constructing pikes, and preparing other implements for the intended insurrection. While the favourite object of constructing this depot was thus forwarded by Emmet's zealous friends, he also made connections among the disaffected here, who were known to himself or to his brother on the former occasion. Soon after Lord Whitworth's return, in May, it was perceived that some cabal had commenced among men who were before suspected, and whose conduct soon attracted a stricter observation. One of this party held a direct communication with Government, and meetings and conversations were often reported, but they led to nothing material; no organization or system was attempted; no persons who could be seized or detained by law could be discovered, and nothing but general expression of hopes, and an increased rumour of danger, could be learned. At the same time, the reports from the country, with the exception of Kildare (and even from thence they were not bad) were of the most favourable kind; and, as far as it was possible to reason upon the apparent dispositions of the people, a revolt could not be considered as immediate, unless in

the event of a successful attempt at invasion by the enemy.

"It is manifest, however, that Emmet staked his whole game on the depot, and trusted himself but little to any but those concerned in it, who were very few in number. He lived himself a few miles out of town, towards the mountains, where he occasionally saw his friends from Dublin and communicated with others, who were in connection with the rebel Dwyer in the mountains. He occasionally came into town, and visited the depot, but this happened very rarely until the week preceding the insurrection.

"Another house was taken by a carpenter, where a few pike handles were made of a particular construction, and some combustible matter for rockets (and not gunpowder, as was at one time supposed), from hence such articles were conveyed to the grand depot; and from other places it would seem that ammunition was also sent there through the medium of an hostler* of an inn which adjoined the depot, and who was admitted into their confidence. It is a matter much to be regretted, and almost complained of, that this depot was not early discovered by the immediate agents of the Government, or by the police. It can only be accounted for by the great secrecy with which it was conducted; that the persons admitted to it were closely attached to their leader or to his cause; that living for the

* Fleming, who gave evidence at Emmet's trial.

most part within side of it, they avoided observation, and that intercourse which, by the most accidental circumstances, leads to detection; but particularly Mr. Emmet had an advantage which few conspirators are so fortunate as to possess—he had a command of money; his father died in December last, and left him a sum of about £2,000. This money was paid to him in March, and there is reason to think that the whole was expended before the middle of July. He was thus his own treasurer; he trusted only those whom he preferred, and he was not obliged to sell his confidence to those who subscribed a £20 or a £50, as was the case in the former rebellion. . . .

"In the counties of Ireland, with the exception of Kildare and Wicklow, it now appears that very few had been gained over by the conspirators. In the North, it is evident that but little preparation was made. Russell distrusted many of his old friends, and did not apply to them. He soon discovered that, among the Protestants of the North, his plans met no encouragement; which made him resort to the Defenders, or Catholics, and his very limited success with them has been sufficiently exposed. According to Quigley's testimony, nothing had been done in Connaught. With the people of Wexford Emmet had no communications; he was offered support from but one barony of that county, and he gave up the hope of a rising in that quarter. Both Emmet and Quigley concur in stating that Meath (a county by no

means considered as secure) would not rise. In the midland counties, and in Limerick and Cork, persons resided with whom Emmet communicated, and who were informed of the intended rising a few days before it took place. Little exertion, however, had been made to prepare for a rising in those places. These friends at a distance served as points of communication, while it would seem that the intermediate spaces had not been occupied. It was assumed, however, and positively not without sufficient reason, that, had the attack in Dublin succeeded, risings would have taken place in many other quarters.

"To aid the attack in Dublin, it now appears that only Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford were relied upon. From the latter county, Emmet supposed that 300 came in, but it does not appear in any way that such was the case. Dwyer, from Wicklow, was to have aided; but, by the mistake of a messenger, or more probably from doubts entertained by Dwyer of the success of the enterprise, no move took place in that quarter. From Kildare many came into Dublin, as well as from the small towns which lay on that side of Dublin. As Mr. Emmet's object was to effect a revolution in Ireland, and to get possession of the country before the French should attempt an invasion, it was necessary for him to bring his projects speedily into action. An accident that happened in Patrick Street, which was a sort of workshop to the depot, did, however, accelerate the execution of his design.

In a room, where some combustible matter was preparing, a small quantity of gunpowder took fire, and the explosion attracted the attention of the neighbourhood. . . . In the week which followed this explosion, Emmet determined to attempt an insurrection. He sent into the country notices to this effect, and concurrent circumstances indicated that something was speedily to be attempted by the disaffected. . . . The arrival in town in the course of the night of the 22nd and morning of the 23rd, of many people from the side of Kildare, and information privately given to Government, and which also flowed in from various quarters, left no longer any doubt that the attempt was to be made. The appearance of the people coming in from the country on Friday evening decided Emmet as to the course to be pursued on the next day. He was by no means satisfied that his preparations were sufficiently advanced; he had spent all his money, and had not got a fresh supply; he was not confident as to the number of his men, and he wanted further time to complete his complicated machine. It was, however, too late to recede, and he decided upon a prompt effort against the opinion of some of his associates. At two o'clock on Saturday the persons from Kildare on whom he most relied met him at an inn in Thomas Street. They required him to satisfy them as to his means of being able to go on with the insurrection; they required him to show them the fire-arms and the men, which he could not do;

and, not being satisfied with a speech which he made to them, they quitted him, to return home to the country. Some remained behind, and many of the lower orders were mixed with the Dublin mob in the excesses of the night.

"At nine o'clock, as near as it can be ascertained, Emmet and his associates sallied forth from the depot in Mass Lane. Pikes were delivered out in large quantities from this secret magazine, but they wanted men and order, and a plan which was practicable with such raw troops and rude implements. Emmet and his party paraded with their swords drawn, and firing pistols in Thomas Street. He could count but eighty followers at the time he left the depot, and, when he reached the Market House in Thomas Street, nearly the whole had deserted him, except about twenty. Upon seeing himself thus abandoned, he quitted the street, and with ten or twelve of his lieutenant-generals and colonels, as he fancied to call them (himself and some others being in green uniforms), he proceeded by Francis Street out of the town, and to the mountains."

CHAPTER XI.

A PAPER in Emmet's handwriting was found in the chief depot after the failure of his attempt, which contained these words:

"I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes; that those difficulties will likewise disappear I have ardent, and, I trust, rational hopes; but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection; and if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is opening under my feet from which duty will not suffer me to run back, I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised to the visions of happiness that my fancy formed in the air."

Emmet had intended to defer the insurrection till the month of August, when he confidently hoped England would be attacked on her own shores, but the Patrick Street explosion, and certain imprudent actions on the part of some subordinates made him conclude that perhaps it would be dangerous to delay the affair, there being

hourly peril that the authorities would swoop down on one or other of the depots.

Unfortunately for his sanguine hopes, the leaders were not of one mind; some doubted the expediency of striking before all the plans were fully matured, others objected that several of the plans were not feasible. As already stated, the Kildare men declined to act, and the Wicklow men did not get sufficient notice. Madden says that the former were told by some traitor that the attempt was to be postponed, and they departed from Dublin at five o'clock in the evening of the 23rd of July. Parties of Wexford men were at several points, awaiting the arranged-for signal of a rocket, but no signal was made.

In Duggan's recollections of the insurrection, placed on record by Madden, it is stated that "Dwyer promised to march down from the mountains with 500 at least that evening, and appear near the city; likewise Mr. Nicholas Gray promised to come with a large force of Wexford men, consisting of thousands, by a different direction. All these persons failed to do so at the time appointed. In the course of the day of the 23rd, it was whispered about that there was to be a general rising that night in Dublin. The alarm reached the Castle." Duggan goes on to say that Henry Howley, who was to have brought one of the double coaches which was "to convey Mr. Emmet and a number of his more determined followers inside the Castle Yard," was on his way

to the rendezvous, and was passing over Queen's Bridge, when he saw a countryman and a soldier fighting. He stopped the coach to see the result of the encounter, when an officer named Lieutenant-Colonel Lyde Browne interfered on behalf of the soldier. Howley immediately leaped out of the coach and called out "Fair play for the countryman," whereupon Colonel Browne drew his sword and was immediately shot dead by Howley.* Seeing a sergeant's guard coming over the bridge, Howley thought it better to escape, and consequently fled, leaving the coach there, "which," adds Duggan, "caused a terrible disappointment to Mr. Emmet, who was anxiously waiting for the coaches, as Howley was the person appointed to procure them."

Emmet's idea was, says Duggan, to seize on the Privy Council, who were expected to be meeting in the Castle that evening. The chief object was, however, to secure the Viceroy and his family, and hold them as hostages. "Plenty of people," says Duggan, "were ready to pour into the Castle, once possession was gained of the courtyards by Emmet and his party. Howley was to bring the coaches one after the other from Essex Bridge stand along the quay, and over the Queen's Bridge. The drivers were to be dressed in liveries.

"Had the Castle been seized, the country was sufficiently prepared—all depended on the Castle.

* Who was afterwards executed for it.

. . . This disappointment of the coaches, together with the failure on the part of the Wicklow and Wexford men—for Mr. Emmet counted on Dwyer's party and also on Mr. Gray's—determined him to abandon the depot, and make the best he could of such an embarrassing situation, finding he could not conceal the business any longer. . . . At all times, Mr. Emmet seemed cool, tranquil, and determined; even to the last moment of my seeing him, which was at seven o'clock that evening of the 23rd July. He appeared to be confident of success; he was never light or thoughtless in his manner, nor absent, nor agitated in his mind. He talked familiarly with the men, but still with something of seriousness—nothing of jocularity. The men never received any pay for their services—they all acted for the cause, and not for money—their diet and lodging, and sometimes only the latter, was their sole remuneration. The people had great confidence in him; they would venture their lives for him."

David Fitzgerald, already quoted, gives in his reminiscences some interesting particulars about Emmet and his relations with Mr. Philip Long, who had advanced money for the cause. Mr. Fitzgerald speaks in the third person.

"The 23rd of July," he says, "Mr. Long came to the office in Crow Street, from the country, about twelve o'clock at mid-day. He said to Fitzgerald, 'There will be a rising to-night.' He then went to his desk, and searched among his

papers for his will, which he sent to Mr. Patten to keep for him. Mr. Long told Fitzgerald there were three separate attacks to be made—one on the Pigeon House, another on the Castle, and one on the Park battery. There were 1,500 men to come in from Kildare; vast numbers from other parts; but most reliance was placed on the men of Kildare. The Kildare men were to be formed in Thomas Street, and marched to the Castle, which was to be attacked and seized on. This plan was objected to by Fitzgerald. He said he could not see what use there could be in parading along Thomas Street—why not begin the attack from Palace Street, where there was a waste house, close to the Castle Yard. This was, however, no time for new proposals.

"The expectation of the country rising generally, when the Castle was taken, was not an idle one. That day a number of strange people came to Mr. Long's. . . . Emmet had no knowledge of the world. He placed trust in every man; but he was the most honest and single-minded of human beings. Mr. Long was an excellent man in council, a good speaker, a good reasoner, and a good writer, a strong-minded man; but in action he wanted nerve, he was easily frightened. He was most devotedly attached to his country, and most honest to its cause—he would have made any sacrifice for it. . . .

"On that night (the 23rd) sixteen of the leaders were supping with Hevey, in Thomas Street,

opposite Marshalsea Lane,* when the firing commenced. In fact, when they ought to have been with their men, they were carousing with Hevey. . . . At half-past seven in the evening of the 23rd of July, Fitzgerald walked through the Castle Yard. *There were no preparations; the place was perfectly quiet and silent; the gates were wide open!* . . .

"On the 23rd of July, Robert Emmet sent to Mr. Long for £500. Mr. Long sent Fitzgerald to Robert Fyan, an eminent merchant then living on Usher's Quay, for the money, which was due by Fyan to Long. Much delay ensued in giving a draft for the amount; and when given, the bank was closed—the business hours were passed. Fyan knew the runners of the bank; and he went with Fitzgerald to the runners' office, where they are accustomed to be after bank hours, to receive payment of bills before handed over to the public notary. At six o'clock precisely, Fitzgerald received the money, and was just going out of the bank, when one of the runners said news of an intended insurrection had reached Government; the guards were doubled. The Castle gates, nevertheless, were wide open at half-past seven. In consequence of this intelligence, the money was not taken to Emmet, and he never received it. . . . Emmet's intention was not to commence for some months later, waiting till the greater part of the troops should be drawn off for the French war. He

* Madden and others print Mass Lane, but the reference seems to be to Marshalsea Lane.

counted on the accomplishment of Bonaparte's threat to invade England.

"Mr. Long, after the explosion, hid himself for some time in the house of William Cole, a shoemaker, on Ormond Quay. . . . He was arrested three weeks after the outbreak, 13th August, 1803. He was in gaol two years and seven months, never having been brought to trial. He was liberated the 8th of March, 1806."*

About nine o'clock on the night of the 23rd, when Emmet was in the chief depot preparing to sally forth, Quigley rushed in with the statement (which was a false one, as subsequently appeared), "We are all lost, the army is coming on us." Emmet, who had determined to hold back the people, and postpone the rising for a time, now saw that there was nothing to be done but to meet the threatened danger. He accordingly donned his green and gold uniform, gave orders for the distribution of the arms, sent up a rocket, and went into Thomas Street with about eighty men, who were speedily reinforced by as many more.

The Mr. John Fisher, quoted in a previous chapter, says: "I saw him on the night of the 23rd of July, 1803; was then looking out of my own drawing-room window at 89 Thomas Street; an oil lamp was lighting immediately under me, a little on one side. Emmet came up, a crowd following him, principally Kildare men; heard

* He died, unmarried, in 1814, aged 42. He was a native of Waterford.

him say to the men, 'Come on, boys, we'll take the Castle;' saw him then pass by the Market House, which lay between Francis Street and John Street." The men led by Emmet were an undisciplined crowd, some of them had been freely imbibing, and they proceeded along in great disorder, Emmet and a faithful henchman named Stafford (whom David Fitzgerald says was a born leader and conspirator) vainly trying to get them to close their ranks. A Mr. Leech, of the Custom House, was driving by at this time in a hackney coach, and was dragged out by the mob and piked, receiving a serious wound from which, however, he subsequently recovered.

The crowd of men, now inflamed by passion and in some cases by drink, were interrupted by the arrival of another coach, which contained Lord Kilwarden, his daughter, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe. The Chief Justice, who was one of the most humane judges of that ferocious period, had been staying at Newlands, County Kildare, and had that day been summoned to a meeting of the Privy Council, and was then on his way to the Castle. His carriage had reached that part of Thomas Street which leads to Vicar Street, when it was stopped by the infuriated crowd. Lord Kilwarden called out. "It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench," when a man, said to be named Shannon, rushed forward, and plunged his pike into the judge's body, saying at the same time, "You are the man I want." A

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portmanteau in the carriage was then seized and emptied, and the body of Lord Kilwarden dragged out. His nephew, who made an endeavour to escape, was next killed, but no attempt was made to injure Miss Wolfe, who remained in the carriage in a state of great terror. Emmet, it appears, had reached the Cornmarket by this time, but hearing that the rear-guard of his body had attacked a lady and gentleman in a carriage, he halted his men, hastened back to the scene of the murder, and conducted Miss Wolfe to a place of safety. He was greatly disgusted at this wanton murder by the mob, and began to feel that he had already lost control of his following.

Mr. John Fisher, who has been recently mentioned, after describing in his recollections the murder of Colonel Browne, goes on to say: "A man named Parker, one of the Liberty Rangers, met the same fate from the insurgents; and a Mr. Edmondson, a linen-draper of High Street; they (the mob) also piked Mr. Henry Doolittle, a silk-mercer of Lower Bridge Street, but the latter recovered from his wounds. When the barracks in the Coombe were assailed by the insurgents, it is believed about sixty of the Fusiliers were killed, and that the Government made an erroneous return of the loss sustained by the military. . . . Mr. Fisher (who is speaking in the third person) saw the carriage of Lord Kilwarden assailed, and saw the pikes of the rebels round it, brandishing in all directions; when the rebels fled, and Mr. Fisher

ventured forth into the street, he ascertained that the carriage was Lord Kilwarden's; that his nephew had been killed; and his lordship, badly wounded, had been carried to the watch-house in Vicar Street. Mr. Fisher, on hearing that some wine was wanted for him, brought over a bottle of his own port, and pouring some into a glass put it to his lordship's lips, but he barely touched it; he was evidently dying. Some of the military, at that moment, were vowing vengeance on the people for the atrocious act committed on his lordship. Lord Kilwarden heard their words, and raising himself up, said deliberately, 'Let no man suffer without a fair trial.' Mr. Fisher was then supporting him, and was assisted in so doing by some other person. . . . His lordship lived for about an hour after he had been carried to the watch-house."

In a pamphlet entitled "The Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803," published in Dublin in that year, and clearly (from the initials H. B. C. attached to the preface) written by Henry Brereton Code, a Castle writer, whose name is on the Secret Service List, it is stated that the insurgents numbered 300 altogether, and that the insurrection never extended further than the lower end of Francis Street, near the Coombe, from the point in Thomas Street, near the depot, where it may be said to have originated. Mr. Marsden, the Under-Secretary, in his report, says:

"At about eleven o'clock, an account was

brought to the Castle that a firing had commenced. This was from a party of the 21st regiment, belonging to the barracks in Cork Street, which had been sent to escort an officer of the regiment from his lodgings to the barracks. This party fell in with the mob in Thomas Street, and, firing upon them, as afterwards proved to be the case, routed them from thence. At eleven they were again fired upon by a party belonging to the guard in the Coombe, in which direction the mob had fled after quitting Thomas Street; and they did not afterwards appear anywhere in a body throughout the night. While the mob remained in force in the street, it was hoped at every moment that an account would arrive of the army having marched from the barracks. Between nine and twelve o'clock several letters and notes were addressed to Sir Charles Asgill and the officer commanding at the barracks, both by Sir E. Littledales and myself, urging, in the most earnest manner, that the troops should be sent into the streets. A note from Sir Charles Asgill, dated half-past one o'clock, gave the first intimation that they had done so. Two hours before that, the mob had been finally routed.

"The army and the yeomen patrolled during the rest of the night; and, after clearing the streets, searched suspected places, and discovered many persons who had been concerned in the violent scenes of the night, as well as concealed pikes and other weapons. The principal depot

of arms in Bridgefoot Street had been discovered before, about the time that Colonel Browne was killed nearly opposite to it, as he walked, attended only by a servant, towards his barracks. It was not till about one o'clock that Lord Kilwarden's body was known to have been found, nor for a considerable time after that of his nephew, Mr. Wolfe. It is very doubtful whether those in arms exceeded 300. Great efforts were used by their leaders to rally them, but the numbers decreased as the night advanced; and, had not a false alarm on that evening occasioned them to break forth when they did, it is supposed that the numbers at a later hour would have been still fewer. Of the insurgents, it is supposed that about twenty-nine were killed—few of the wounded were found in Dublin; but, according to the usual proportion, they must have been considerable." Marsden then names several offices and privates who were killed and wounded, and concludes:

"The yeomen could not assemble so as to make any attack in a body, and, therefore, were not engaged until the mob was routed; but, most unfortunately, Messrs. Edmondson and Parker, of the Liberty Rangers, were killed as they endeavoured to join a party of their friends; and three others were wounded." These statements are more or less corroborated in the newspapers of the day. In a report* furnished to the

* See Memoirs of Lord Castlereagh, Vol. iv.

Government by Alderman Frederick Darley, one of the city magistrates, he gives an account of the discovery of the depot in Marshalsea Lane, which had been abandoned to itself. He says the night was extremely dark. Beyond showing that there was nothing like an organised rising, his report is, however, of little interest.

The murder of Lord Kilwarden seems to have been the only serious incident of the night. Madden's suggestion that this act was committed by Orangemen, who hated his liberal principles, and who had mixed with the crowd for the purpose of assassinating the Chief Justice, has absolutely nothing in the shape of evidence to support it. It is one of the many prejudiced statements in his work which has seriously damaged, if not altogether destroyed, his reputation as a historian. Emmet's own account of the disastrous failure of the rising will complete this lamentable record of the proceedings of the 23rd of July.

CHAPTER XII.

"I EXPECTED," says Emmet, in the evidently hurried letter to his brother intercepted by the Government, "three hundred Wexford, four hundred Kildare, and two hundred Wicklow men, all of whom had fought before, to begin the surprises at this side of the water, and by the preparations for defence, so as to give time for the town to assemble. The county of Dublin was also to act at the instant it began; the number of Dublin people acquainted with it, I understood, to be three or four thousand. I expected two thousand to assemble at Costigan's Mills—the grand place of assembly. The evening before, the Wicklow men failed, through their officers. The Kildare men (who were to act particularly with me) came in, and at five o'clock went off again, from the Canal Harbour, on a report from two of their officers that Dublin would not act. In Dublin itself it was given out, by some treacherous or cowardly person, that it was postponed till Wednesday. The time of assembly was from six till nine; and at nine, instead of two thousand, there were eighty men assembled. When we came to the Market House, they were diminished to eighteen or twenty. The Wexford

men did assemble, I believe, to the amount promised, on the coal quay; but three hundred men, though they might be sufficient to begin on a sudden, were not so when Government had five hours' notice by express from Kildare.

"Add to this, the preparations were, from an unfortunate series of disappointments in money, unfinished—scarcely any blunderbusses bought up. The man who was to turn the fuses and rammers for the beams forgot them, and went off to Kildare to bring men, and did not return till the very day. The consequence was that all the beams were not loaded, nor mounted with wheels, nor the train bags of course fastened on to explode them.

"From the explosion in Patrick Street I lost the jointed pikes which were deposited there; and the day of action was fixed on before this, and could not be changed.

"I had no means for making up their loss but by the hollow beams full of pikes, which struck me three or four days before the 23rd. From the delays in getting the materials they were not able to set about them till the day before; the whole of that day, and the next, which ought to have been spent in arrangements, was obliged to be employed in work. Even this, from the confusion occasioned by men crowding into the depot from the country, was almost impossible. The person who had the management of the depot mixed, by accident, the slow matches that were prepared, with what were not, and all our labour went for

nothing. The fuses for the grenades he had also laid by, where he forgot them, and could not find them in the crowd.

"The cramp irons could not be got in time from the smiths, to whom we would not communicate the necessity of dispatch; and the scaling ladders were not finished (but one). Money came in at five o'clock, and the trusty men of this depot, who alone knew the town, were obliged to be sent out to buy up blunderbusses, for the people refused to act without some. To change the day was impossible, for I expected the counties to act, and feared to lose the advantage of surprise. The Kildare men were coming in for three days, and after that it was impossible to draw back. Had I another week—had I one thousand pounds—had I one thousand men—I would have feared nothing. There was redundancy enough in any one part to have made up, if complete, for deficiency in the rest, but there was failure in all—plan, preparation, and men.

"I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to shed blood. I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped.

"I arrived time enough in the country to prevent that part of it which had already gone out with one of my men—to dissuade the neighbourhood from proceeding. I found that by a mistake of the messenger Wicklow would not rise that night; I sent off to prevent it from doing so

the next, as it intended. It offered to rise even after the defeat if I wished it, but I refused. Had it risen, Wexford would have done the same. It began to assemble, but the leader kept it back till he knew the fate of Dublin. In the state Kildare was in it would have done the same. I was repeatedly solicited, by some of those who were with me, to do so, but I constantly refused. The more remote counties did not rise, for want of money to send them the signal agreed on.

"I know how men without candour will pronounce on this failure, without knowing one of the circumstances that occasioned it; they will consider only that they predicted it. Whether its failure was caused by chance, or by any of the grounds on which they made their prediction, they will not care; they will make no distinction between a prediction fulfilled and justified—they will make no compromise of errors; they will not recollect that they predicted also that no system could be formed—that no secrecy nor confidence could be restored—that no preparations could be made—that no plan could be arranged—that no day could be fixed without being instantly known at the Castle—that Government only waited to let the conspiracy ripen, and crush it at their pleasure—and that on these grounds only did they predict its miscarriage. The very same men that after success would have flattered, will now calumniate. The very same men that would have made an offering of unlimited sagacity at the shrine of

victory, will not now be content to take back that portion that belongs of right to themselves, but would violate the sanctity of misfortune, and strip her of that covering that candour would have left her. R. E."

Emmet, it will be seen, speaks with some little bitterness at the close of his letter of the class who, after the failure of any or every movement with which they may or may not have been connected, deliver their judgment upon it with the air of those who could not possibly have fallen into the same errors, and who thus imply that only the certainly successful would or could engage their attention. He had reason to complain to some extent of those who gave him no hint that all was not right, but it must be confessed that Emmet's astoundingly childlike ignorance of men, and implicit faith in his associates, invite serious and damaging criticism. It is impossible to acquit him of woful incapacity in his dealings with men. His bravery, his chivalry, and generous nature command admiration, but the conclusion come to by some of his associates that he was the last man in the world likely to lead a successful revolution cannot but be accepted as the right one. True, many accidents happened, and the fortunes of war were, as often before, overwhelmingly with the Government, but these should have been anticipated and guarded against, and nothing should have been left to the good-will or doubtful

energy of mere underlings. Emmet's conduct, however, when the failure was certain, does him great credit. He refused to be responsible for the slaughter of the people which would assuredly have taken place.

Anne Devlin, the faithful servant of Emmet, gave Madden her recollections of the events which followed the smothering of the riot (all that it can be called) of the 23rd of July. On that night, she says, "at about eleven o'clock at night, Robert Emmet, Nicholas Stafford, Michael Quigley, Thomas Wylde, John Mahon, John Hevey, and the two Perrotts from Naas, came to the house at Butterfield Lane. She first saw them outside of the house, in the yard; she was at that moment sending off a man on horseback with ammunition in a sack, and bottles filled with powder. She called out, 'Who's there?' Robert Emmet answered, 'It's me, Anne.' She said, 'Oh, bad welcome to you! Is the world lost by you, cowards that you are, to lead the people to destruction, and then to leave them?' Robert Emmet said, 'Don't blame me, the fault is not mine.' They then came in; Quigley was present, but they did not upbraid him. Emmet and the others told her afterwards that Quigley was the cause of the failure.

"Michael Quigley," goes on Anne Devlin, "had been constantly in the store in Thomas Street. On the 23rd his conduct was thought extraordinary; he rushed into the depot shortly before nine o'clock, and said he had been looking down

Dirty Lane, and saw the army coming; he ran in, exclaiming, 'All is lost—the army is coming.' Robert Emmet said, 'If that be the case, we may as well die in the streets as cooped up here.' It was then he rushed out, and the rout took place. Robert Emmet ran down Patrick Street and the Coombe, crying, 'Turn out, turn out;' but no one came out. He was attacked by some soldiers in the Coombe, but got off. They stopped at Butterfield Lane that night and next day; and at night, about ten o'clock, fled to the mountains, when they got information that the house was to be searched. Her (Anne Devlin's) father, who kept a dairy close by, got horses for three of them, and went with them.

"Rose Hope, wife of James Hope, had been there keeping the house also. The reason of their (the rebel leaders) stopping there that night was, that Emmet expected Dwyer and the mountaineers down in the morning by break of day, but Dwyer had not got Emmet's previous letter, and had heard of Emmet's defeat only the next day, and therefore did not come. Emmet and his companions first went to Doyle's in the mountains, and thence to the Widow Bagnell's. Anne Devlin and Miss Wylde, sister to Mrs. Mahon, two or three days after went up to the mountains in a jingle with letters for them. They found Robert Emmet and his associates at the Widow Bagnell's sitting on the side of the hill; some of them were in their uniforms, for they had no other clothes.

Robert Emmet insisted on coming back with her (Anne) and her companions; he parted with them before they came to Rathfarnham, but she (Anne Devlin) knows not where he went that night; but in a day or two after he sent for her to take a letter to Miss Curran; he was then staying at Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's Cross. . . .

"The day after the gentlemen went away from Butterfield Lane, a troop of yeomen came with a magistrate, and searched the house; every place was ramsacked from top to bottom. As for herself (Anne Devlin) she was seized on when they first rushed in, as if they were going to tear down the house. She was kept below by three or four of the yeomen with their fixed bayonets pointed at her, and so close to her body that she could feel their points. When the others came down she was examined. She said she knew nothing in the world about the gentlemen, except that she was the servant maid; where they came from, and where they went to, she knew nothing about; and as long as her wages were paid, she cared to know nothing else about them.

"The magistrate pressed her to tell the truth—he threatened her with death if she did not tell; she persisted in asserting her total ignorance of Mr. *Ellis's* acts and movements, and of those of all the other gentlemen. At length the magistrate gave the word to hang her, and she was dragged into the court-yard to be executed. There was a common car there—they tilted up

the shafts and fixed a rope from the back band that goes across the shafts, and while these preparations were making for her execution, the yeomen kept her standing against the wall of the house, prodding her with their bayonets in the arms and shoulders till she was all covered with blood, and saying to her at every thrust of the bayonet, 'Will you confess now? will you tell now, where is Mr. Ellis?' Her constant answer was, 'I have nothing to tell. I will tell nothing.'"

Anne Devlin proceeds to describe how she was finally dragged to the improvised gallows, and the rope put round her neck. She was asked for the last time, "Will you confess where Mr. Ellis is?" and her reply was, "You may murder me, you villains, but not one word will you get from me about him." She had barely time to ejaculate a prayer, when a great shout was raised by the yeomen who pulled the rope, and the others holding down the back of the car, and she was hoisted into the air. After being suspended for two or three minutes, she was lowered to the ground, and soon recovered her senses. She was then taken to town, and brought before Major Sirr, who tried to coax her into giving information. The heroic girl still absolutely refused to give any information whatever about the insurgent leaders. Bribing was then tried, and Major Sirr, who repeatedly said, "All we want to know is where did Emmet go to from Butterfield Lane?"—told her that £500 reward would be paid to her for the

information, adding that that "was a fine fortune for a young woman only to tell against persons who were not her relatives; that all the others of them had confessed the truth, and that they were sent home liberated," which statements were, of course, utterly untrue. Finding all his efforts of no avail, Major Sirr ordered her to be kept in solitary confinement at Kilmainham, where every possible contrivance was resorted to to entrap her into even admitting her knowledge of Emmet, but all to no purpose. After Emmet had been arrested, and was (without her knowledge) in Kilmainham, the dodge was tried of allowing her to meet him in the exercise yard, but she kept her features composed, only allowing Emmet, by a glance, to understand her reason, and they passed each other as utter strangers. Her father, mother, and brother were also prisoners for a time.

The treatment of these, and indeed of all the prisoners, and especially of Anne Devlin, who was known to have some knowledge of the rebel leaders, was barbarous in the extreme. The prison doctor, Trevor (to whom Emmet had entrusted his letter to his brother) was a vile brute without either decency or humanity.

Anne Devlin, whose conduct entitles her to admiration, was kept in prison altogether for considerably over a year. She died in poverty at the age of seventy in September, 1851. She had married a poor man named Campbell some years after her release, and he predeceased her. A son

and daughter survived her. She was a niece of Michael Dwyer, the Wicklow outlaw, and a cousin of Arthur Devlin, one of Emmet's chief lieutenants.

It would seem that when Emmet reached the mountains he found the Wicklow men determined to rise, and bent on making an immediate attack on some of the principal towns in the county. Emmet had the greatest difficulty in restraining them. They were prepared to march into Dublin or anywhere at his bidding, but it was with the greatest reluctance that they yielded to his arguments in favour of the hopelessness of the attempt now that the Government were aroused to the danger. They at length gave way, and then considered his position, asking him what arrangements he had made for his escape. Nothing was easier than to effect this at the time. It would have been easy to put out to sea and get across to France, but Emmet had other views for the moment. His love for Sarah Curran had made him resolve to see her at once, and it was for this reason that he accompanied Anne Devlin part of the way to town, and left her at Rathfarnham. It was at the Priory here, John Philpot Curran's house, that Emmet had met Sarah Curran, and here he now sought what he felt might be probably the last interview for many years, if not the final one of all.

CHAPTER XIII.

EMMET made several attempts to see Sarah Curran, but was unsuccessful. M'Nally, the infamous spy who was Curran's intimate friend, and was believed in implicitly by both Emmet and Curran, had full knowledge of the former's love for Curran's daughter, and had gradually, it would seen, embittered Curran against Emmet, and had doubtless told the famous advocate of the treasonable designs of the young lover, and pointed out to Curran the risk he, the future Master of the Rolls, ran in allowing his family to be in any way connected with a rebel. In his letter to J. P. Curran, shortly to be quoted, Emmet evidently wished to impress upon the latter that his attachment [illegible]rah Curran was of very recent origin. In reality, however, the engagement was of long standing, and a considerable correspondence passed between the two lovers. These letters fell into the hands of Major Sirr, who kept them for years in his possession, but finally destroyed them. Anne Devlin informed Madden that she had several times conveyed notes to Miss Curran while Emmet was living at Butterfield Lane, and that whenever she handed her a letter, "her face

would change so, one would hardly know her." "You could not see Miss Curran," she added, "and not help liking her; and yet she was not handsome; she was more than handsome." She describes her as follows: "Miss Sarah was not tall, her figure was very slight, her complexion dark, her eyes large and black, and her look was the mildest, the softest, and the sweetest look you ever saw."

She never saw Emmet, it is almost certain, after the day of the insurrection. It has been stated by several writers that she had an interview with him the day before his execution, but this is erroneous. Nobody saw him in his last days but Leonard M'Nally and the chaplain, no other person being permitted to visit him. It may be well, in reference to Emmet's love for Sarah Curran, to quote now two letters he wrote while in prison, one to her father on the night before his execution, and one to his friend Richard Curran, Sarah's brother, written at the same time. They are among the Sirr papers in Trinity College Library. The letter to J. P. Curran is as follows. It is neither signed nor dated:

"I did not expect you to be my counsel. I nominated you, because not to have done so might have appeared remarkable. Had Mr. ——* been in town, I did not even wish to have seen you; but as he was not, I wrote to you to come to me at once. I know that I have done you very severe

* Referring to Robert Holmes, the advocate.

injury, much greater than I can atone for with my life; that atonement I did offer to make before the Privy Council, by pleading guilty if those documents were suppressed. I offered more—I offered, if I was permitted to consult some persons, and if they would consent to an accommodation for saving the lives of others, that I would only require for my part of it the suppression of these documents, and that I would abide the event of my trial. This was also rejected, and nothing but individual information (with the exception of names) would be taken. My intention was not to leave the suppression of these documents to possibility, but to render it unnecessary for any one to plead for me, by pleading guilty to the charge myself.

"The circumstances that I am now going to mention I do not state in my own justification. When I first addressed your daughter I expected that in another week my own fate would have been decided. I know that in case of success many others might look on me differently from what they did at that moment, but I speak with sincerity when I say that I never was anxious for situation or distinction myself, and I did not wish to be united to one who was. I spoke to your daughter, neither expecting, nor in fact, under those circumstances, wishing that there should be a return of attachment, but wishing to judge of her dispositions—to know how far they might be not unfavourable or disengaged, and to know what foundation I might afterwards have to count on.

I received no encouragement whatever. She told me she had no attachment for any person, nor did she seem likely to have any that could make her wish to quit you. I stayed away till the time had elapsed, when I found that the event, to which I allude, was to be postponed indefinitely. I returned, by a kind of infatuation, thinking that to myself only was I giving pleasure or pain. I perceived no progress of attachment on her part, nor anything in her conduct to distinguish me from a common acquaintance. Afterwards I had reason to suppose that discoveries were made, and that I should be obliged to quit the kingdom immediately. I came to make a renunciation of any approach to friendship that might have been found. On that very day she herself spoke to me to discontinue my visits. I told her it was my intention, and I mentioned the reason. I then for the first time found where I was unfortunate, by the manner in which she was affected, that there was a return of affection, and that it was too late to retreat. My own apprehensions, also, I afterwards found, were without cause, and I remained.

"There has been much culpability on my part in all this, but there has been a great deal of that misfortune which seems uniformly to have accompanied me. That I have written to your daughter since an unfortunate event has taken place was an additional breach of propriety, for which I have suffered well; but I will candidly

confess that I not only do not feel it to have been of the same extent, but that I consider it to have been unavoidable after what had passed; for though I will not attempt to justify in the smallest degree my former conduct, yet when an attachment was once formed between us—and a sincerer one never did exist—I feel that, peculiarly circumstanced as I then was, to have left her uncertain of my situation would neither have weaned her affections nor lessened her anxiety; and looking upon her as one whom, if I lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing of her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have the affections of your daughter in the back settlements of America, than the first situation this country could offer without them. I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence; I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know that if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness; I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done; but I know that a man with the coldness of death on him need not to be made to feel any other coldness, and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he has left nothing but sorrow."

In the letter just quoted, Emmet's idea was to mitigate the wrath which he knew Curran was likely to visit upon his unfortunate daughter,

whom he treated with great harshness if not with brutality.

The letter to Richard Curran is couched in quite another strain:

"MY DEAREST RICHARD,—I find I have but a few hours to live, but if it was the last moment, and that the power of utterance was leaving me, I would thank you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expressions of affection and forgiveness to me. If there was any one in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every mark of resentment, it might be you. I have deeply injured you—I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to every one about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction.

"O Richard! I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent could have given her. I never did tell you how much I idolized her. It was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind, and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be a means of confirming an attachment which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I

would have asked from the lips of no man; but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sara's countenance that her husband was respected.

"My love, Sarah! it was not thus I thought to have requited your affection. I did hope to be a prop, round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

"This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment when my mind was so sunk by grief on her account, that death would have been a refuge. God bless you, my dearest Richard. I am obliged to leave off immediately.

"ROBERT EMMET."

Emmet, a few days after the failure of his attempt, seems to have gone to his old lodgings at Mrs. Palmer's in Harold's Cross, and there he remained in concealment until the 25th of August, when he was arrested. Some one had probably informed the Government of his whereabouts, and on the day named Major Sirr went to the house and knocked at the door. He was on horseback himself, and was accompanied by a man on foot. The door was opened by a little girl, and the Major immediately pushed his way into the back parlour. According to the Major's evidence he there saw Emmet, and requested Mrs. Palmer and

the little girl (her daughter) to withdraw. He asked Emmet his name, and he replied "Cunningham." The companion of the Major was immediately placed in charge of the parlour while Sirr questioned Mrs. Palmer as to her lodger. She said his name was Hewitt.

The prisoner, on being interrogated, declared he had arrived that morning. While the Major was away from the room, the prisoner had apparently attempted to escape, for he was covered with blood, Sirr's myrmidon having struck him with a pistol. Mrs. Palmer, on being separately questioned, stated that her lodger had been there a month. The Major then called the canal guard, whom he had notified on his way to the house, and directed the house to be surrounded while it was searched. While this was going on, he heard the noise of what appeared to be an attempt to escape, and saw the prisoner running off. He ordered one of the sentries to fire, but the musket did not go off. The Major himself ran after and overtook the prisoner, who surrendered quietly. On Sirr's remarking that he was sorry for the necessity of treating him so roughly, Emmet replied, "All is fair in war." When brought to the Castle, he acknowledged that he was Robert Emmet.

This is the substance of the account given at the trial by Major Sirr of his capture of Emmet, and it seems not to have been questioned in any important particular. Emmet was removed to

Kilmainham from the Castle, and while in prison awaiting his trial, an attempt was made to effect a rescue. It was proposed, if he could be safely got out of the prison, to convey him on board of a vessel called the "Erin," which would land him at one of the Continental ports. The prime mover in this plot was Emmet's cousin, a Kerry man and barrister, named St. John Mason.

The latter's account to Madden was that he received a note from Emmet, asking him to offer George Dunn, one of the warders, the sum of £500 or £1,000 as a reward for allowing or assisting him to escape. Dunn agreed to the proposition, and proceeded to enter into the details of the plan. Meanwhile all communications were handed to the Governor, Mr. John Dunn, who was erroneously believed to be an uncle of the other Dunn. This governor seems to have been a humane man, for noticing when Emmet was brought before him that he was loaded with irons, and that these had cut through the prisoner's silk stockings, and that his ankles were bleeding, he ordered their immediate removal.

It should be stated that Mason had been in Kilmainham since the 9th of August on suspicion of complicity in the insurrection. As late as February, 1842, in answer to a statement in the London *Times* which was very inaccurate, Mason wrote a full account of the whole transaction under the name of "Verax." He was then living at Bath, and addressed his letter thence. In this

rather lengthy document, he states that Dunn, contrary to the *Times'* declaration of the bribe being spurned, unquestionably accepted the proposition, but "throughout the transaction, practised the foulest perfidy." Mason goes on to say that Dunn had no means of carrying out his promises, though he pretended that he could easily arrange the escape. In fact, in conjunction with the Dr. Trevor already mentioned, who would also have had to be "squared," Dunn concocted a plan of possible escape simply in order to cheat the prisoner, and raise hopes which could not have been fulfilled by either of them. Mason denounces Trevor for his consistent cruelty towards the State prisoners, saying that he himself had had two years' bitter experience of his barbarous treatment. He was, according to Mason, an illegitimate son of Lord Downshire, and other charges are made, affecting his character, which need not be mentioned here.*

Mason, who was in an adjoining cell to that occupied by Emmet, received the communication from the latter requesting him to bribe the gaoler with certain misgivings, but it was clearly genuine, and he did not hesitate, notwithstanding the risks he ran, to act upon it. "In doing so," he says, "he admits his legal guilt, but as to any moral guilt he feels but little compunction. His only

* His conduct was subsequently made a subject of Parliamentary nvestigation on the motion of R. B. Sheridan.

regret is that he failed in this attempt. What were his motives? Robert Emmet was his first cousin, and the ties of nature are not easily broken! He (Emmet) had a great and noble heart. He shared with the rest of his family those transcendent talents which have acquired for the name of Emmet an imperishable renown. But above all he was then upon the threshold of the grave—the finger of death was almost upon him; and where lives the man, having a human heart within him, who would not under such circumstances have made a similar attempt? . . . However, Dunn received the proposition, including the specification of the sum which would be given, in a way which showed, as soon after proved, that he had been previously trained by his employer to expect it." Mason goes on to say that Trevor permitted the communications to pass between him and Emmet, knowing their relationship, and allowed a suit of clothes, afterwards worn by Emmet on his trial, to be smuggled into the latter's cell.

The reason for encouraging this plot was, in Mason's opinion, to discover whether anything would occur between the two prisoners to show Mason's connection with Emmet's insurrection. The whole of the correspondence between the two prisoners was duly forwarded to the Castle by Trevor and placed in the hands of Marsden, the Under-Secretary. After the plot had gone sufficiently far for Trevor's purpose, he claimed the

credit for himself and Dunn of their fidelity to the Government, and claimed, and no doubt received, his reward. "By means of the present transaction," says Mason, "and other acts equally base, and likewise by a long course of prison peculation, from having been an obscure and needy adventurer, he became a man of wealth."

Mason concludes his letter with a warm eulogium of Emmet's personal courage, and high principle. George Dunn was not an Irishman, but an Englishman (according to some accounts; others say he was a native of Berwick-on-Tweed), and by his duplicity and cunning eventually became head-gaoler of Kilmainham, a very lucrative position. Emmet's communication to Mason was, of course, suggested to the former by the precious pair (Dunn and Trevor) through the medium of another turnkey.

Madden prints one of the notes to Mason from Emmet, arranging the details of his escape. He also prints the following letter from him to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Wickham, which is interesting as showing Emmet's extraordinary mildness and gentleness of disposition. It is true that the governor of Kilmainham had very kindly made things as comfortable for him as possible, but why Emmet should thank the Government for this elementary act of justice is only to be explained by the affectionate nature of Emmet and his curious willingness to see only the good side of men's actions. The letter is as follows:

*20th Septemb*eneral,

"SIR,—Had I been permitted to proceed and my vindication, it was my intention not only to have acknowledged the delicacy with which I feel with gratitude that I have been personally treated, but also to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the present administration of this country, and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with me, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy, which from its closeness I know it was impossible to have done. I confess that I should have preferred this mode if it had been permitted, as it would thereby have enabled me to clear myself from an imputation under which I might in consequence lie, and to have stated why such an administration did not prevent, but under the peculiar situation of this country perhaps rather accelerated, my determination to make an effort for the overthrow of a Government of which I do not think equally high.

"However, as I have been deprived of that opportunity, I think it right now to make an acknowledgment which justice requires of me as a man, and which I do not feel in the least derogatory from my decided principles as an Irishman.—I am, etc.,

"ROBERT EMMET.

"Rt. Hon. W. Wickham, etc."

Most people will probably agree that this letter, like the one to Curran, shows the lamentable weakness of Emmet's character.

CHAPTER XIV.

On September 7th, Emmet was brought into court and informed that a Bill of Indictment for high treason had been found against him, and he was asked to name his counsel and agent, which he did. He afterwards altered these—evidently on account of the protest of Curran—and eventually named Peter Burrowes and Leonard M'Nally as his counsel, and the latter as his agent. On Wednesday the 15th he was arraigned, and pleaded "Not Guilty," and on being asked whether he was ready for trial, said he would be ready on the following Monday.

Accordingly, on Monday, September 19th, he was brought up before Lord Norbury, Baron George, and Baron Daly, the prosecuting counsel being Standish O'Grady, afterwards Lord Guillamore, William Conyngham Plunket, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and others. The conduct of Plunket, his extreme hostility and bitterness towards the prisoner, have often been unfavourably commented upon. He had been the friend of Dr. Emmet, and was, it is said, a college companion of Robert Emmet; and the latter was somewhat astonished to find that his quondam friend was

far more vindictive than the Attorney-General, whose opening statement was eminently fair and moderate. In this address, O'Grady, while declaring that the conspiracy "was in truth, in point of numbers, contemptible in the extreme, and prepared and put forward by those only who had been distinguished for their former treasons," yet gave exaggerated praise to the troops engaged in its suppression. "If I am rightly instructed," he went on, "we have now brought to the bar of justice, not a person who has been seduced by others, but a gentleman to whom the rebellion may be traced, as the origin, the life, and the soul of it." He proceeded to say that Emmet must have embarked in the scheme with his eyes open, that he returned from France full of his "mischievous designs;" and he added: "Gentlemen, you all recollect the King's message to the House of Commons, from which it was to be collected that a rupture would probably take place between this United Kingdom and France—that was early in March. That circumstance was a very considerable stimulative, indeed, to the treason which had been heretofore set on foot in this country; and accordingly, upon the 24th of the same month, that memorable depot, of which you have all heard so much, was taken by the conspirators." O'Grady proceeded to describe Emmet's taking lodgings at Mrs. Palmer's, and his removal thence, on April 27th, to Butterfield Lane, paying a fine of sixty-one guineas for the lease, which he signed

with the name of Robert Ellis. He took it from a Mr. Frayne, who never saw any furniture in it except a mattrass, and who frequently saw people visiting his tenant, with whom they sat up late at night. After the explosion in Patrick Street, said the Attorney-General, the conspirators abandoned the Butterfield Lane house, from which hitherto the prisoner was rarely absent, and took up their residence in the depot in Thomas Street. Here, said O'Grady, the prisoner was constantly superintending the manufacture of pikes and ball cartridges and inspecting the other arms and ammunition; now reading over his projected proclamation to his associates, and now dressing himself in his green and gold uniform, and, as it were, rehearsing the forthcoming event. The Attorney-General then read a paper found in the depot and attributed to Emmet, of which the following is the most salient passage: "I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes — that those difficulties will likewise disappear I have ardent, and I trust rational hopes, but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition," etc.

O'Grady stated that "the famous arsenal of treason so strongly garrisoned at an early hour of the evening (of the 23rd), and which contained such stores of ammunition, was carried by the assault of a private soldier with a pistol in his hand." The proclamations found in the depot

were then referred to, and their contents indicated. One began: "A Band of Patriots, mindful of their oath as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English Oppression."

After detailing Emmet's movements after the failure, the prosecutor described his arrival at Mrs. Palmer's house. "He arrived there the Saturday after the rebellion; he had then abandoned his hat, his regimental coat, and the title of general; but he retained his black stock, his regimental breeches, and waistcoat, and his Hessian boots: these he could not with such readiness change."

The arrest was next described, and the account differs only slightly from Major Sirr's account, already given:

"Sirr," said the Attorney-General, "came by surprise on the house, having sent a countryman to give a single rap, and the door being opened, the Major rushed in and caught Mrs. Palmer and the prisoner sitting down to dinner." O'Grady mentioned a feature of the proclamations which is of interest, namely, that while the English soldiers were to be treated as prisoners of war, the yeomen were to be considered rebels, as also the Irish militia. If taken in war, they were to be tried by court-martial, and put to death as traitors. The Attorney-General concluded by asking the jury not to mind any popular rumours to the prisoner's discredit which they may have heard, but to judge

him only on the merits of the evidence which would be produced.

The first witness was a Joseph Rawlins, whose examination was very brief. He simply testified that Emmet had told him on his return from abroad, that he had been to see his brother in Brussels.

A Mr. George Tyrrell, an attorney, next proved the execution of the lease for the house in Butterfield Lane, and the fact that the prisoner described himself in it as Robert Ellis. Frayne next gave the evidence already alluded to, after which a Kildare man named Fleming, who had had access to the depot, gave evidence that Emmet was in chief command there and generally directed operations, and as to the nature of the manufacture going on there. The witness described Emmet's uniform as consisting of a green coat with gold epaulettes, a cocked hat with white feathers, a white waistcoat and breeches; and said that he wore a sash and a sword, and carried a case of pistols. He also said that Quigley and Stafford wore similar uniforms, but that Stafford's feather was green. The witness also deposed that Emmet was called Ellis by his men. Another witness named Terence Colgan, a tailor, deposed that he was employed at the Thomas Street store making green jackets and white pantaloons. Other witnesses of no particular account were also examined, and swore to certain unimportant points, but all more or less tending to prove Emmet's control of the insurrection.

Mrs. Rose Bagnal, of Ballinascorney, deposed that on the Tuesday following the rebellion, sixteen or seventeen persons came to her house and stayed there one night, leaving at nine the next night, but she said she was so frightened that she could not remember any of them, and was not pressed on the point. After Joseph Palmer, son of Mrs. Palmer, of Harold's Cross, who deposed to Emmet's lodging at his house, and to the arrest, the redoubtable Major Sirr was called. His evidence has been already given in substance. With it the case for the Crown closed, and Emmet's counsel announced that there would be no witnesses for the defence.

M'Nally stated that Emmet did not wish to take up the time of the court by making any defence, and had instructed his counsel not to speak in his behalf. He therefore presumed that the case was closed on both sides, but in this belief he counted without the vanity and venom of Plunket, who insisted on his right to address the court against the prisoner. Plunket accordingly got his opportunity, and in his speech denounced the prisoner in such unmeasured terms, and with such violence of manner, that even his own friends were disgusted, and he was not soon allowed to forget his wanton assault upon a defenceless prisoner, and one, too, whom he had known and professed to esteem. It was a strong bid for promotion and office, and in due course he received its guerdon. In his speech Plunket

assumed and rightly assumed that Emmet was already doomed, and he unctuously counselled him "to make an atonement to his God and his country by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes."

Lord Norbury summed up as strongly as he could against the prisoner, and the jury, without leaving the box, found him "Guilty." On being asked whether he had anything to say "why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against him according to law," Emmet delivered the magnificent speech which has thrilled the hearts of generation after generation of Irish men and women, and has extorted from the most unwilling sources tributes of unstinted admiration. The following is, perhaps, the most authentic report of the oration, which must have been quite extempore:

"MY LORDS,—As to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter; I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court. I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, until it has found some more hospitable

harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies, his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France. It is false—I am no emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Never did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. From the introductory paragraph of the address of the Provisional Government, it is evident that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into this country. Small indeed would be our claim to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to sell our country to a people who are not only slaves themselves, but the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery upon others.* And, my lords, let

* Referring to the acts of oppression mentioned in a previous chapter.

me here observe that I am not the head and life's blood of this rebellion. When I came to Ireland I found the business ripe for execution. I was asked to join in it. I took time to consider, and after mature deliberation, I became one of the Provisional Government; and there then was, my lords, an agent of the United Irishmen and Provisional Government of Ireland at Paris, negotiating with the French Government to obtain them an aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Great Britain; the preliminary to which assistance has been a guarantee to Ireland similar to that which Franklin obtained for America. But the imputation that I, or the rest of the Provisional Government, meditated to put our country under the dominion of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe is utterly false and unfounded. Did we entertain any such idea, how could we speak of giving freedom to our countrymen? How could we assume such an exalted motive? If such an inference is drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates their views, and is not warranted by the fact.

"Connection with France was indeed intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, and we sought it—as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war and allies in peace.

"Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, and if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should feel conscious that life, even more than death, would be unprofitable when a foreign nation held my country in subjection.

"Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No! Let not then any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so I had not deserved to live—and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom. What has been the conduct of the French towards other

countries? They promised them liberty, and when they got them into their power, they enslaved them. What has been their conduct towards Switzerland, where it has been stated that I had been? Had the people there been desirous of French assistance, and been deceived by that power, I would have sided with the people—I would have stood between them and the French, whose aid they called in, and to the utmost of my ability I would have protected them from every attempt at subjugation. I would in such a case have fought against the French, and in the dignity of freedom I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corpse. Is it then to be supposed that I would be slow in making the same sacrifices for my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her freedom and independence—am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of French tyranny and French despotism? My lords, it may be part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the scaffold's shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the imputation of having been the agent of the despotism and ambition of France; and whilst I have breath I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and against

their happiness. I would do with the people of Ireland as I would have done with the people of Switzerland, could I be called upon again to act in their behalf. My object and that of the rest of the Provisional Government, was to effect a total separation between Great Britain and Ireland—to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to let her become a dependent of France."

Here Emmet was interrupted by Lord Norbury.

"When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in defence of their country, this is my hope, that my memory and name may serve to animate those who survive me.

"While the destruction of that Government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hands in religion's name against the throat of his fellow who believes a little more or less than the Government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the widows and orphans it has made——"

Here Lord Norbury again interrupted the prisoner, who, however, proceeded with a statement of his objects and hopes, until he was again interrupted, when he said:

"What I have spoken was not intended for your lordships, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy; my expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman pre-

sent, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction."

Lord Norbury interrupted again at this point. Emmet went on:

"I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity—to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institution — where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice—if an unfortunate prisoner whom your policy, and *not justice*, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

"My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame of the scaffold's terrors would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a judge—I am the supposed culprit. I am a man—you are a man also. By a revolution of power we

might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at this bar, and dare not vindicate my character, *how dare you* calumniate it? Does the sentence of death which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe, who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or actuated by the purest motives—my country's oppressors or——"

Emmet was again interrupted here and told to listen to his sentence:

"My lords," he exclaimed, "will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community from a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country. Why then insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should

not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you should put the question; the form also confers a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of this trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury was impannelled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit, but I insist upon the whole of the forms."

Here Emmet paused, and was desired by the court to proceed:

"I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of the conspiracy.' You do me honour overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of his superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord; men, before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would not deign to call you friend, who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand."

Here Lord Norbury again interrupted.

"What, my lord, shall you tell me on my passage to the scaffold — which that tyranny of which you are only the intermediate minister has erected for my death—that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this

struggle against the oppressor? Shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

"I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my short life; and am I to stand appalled here before a mere remnant of humanity? Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour; let no man attaint my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence. The proclamation of the Provisional Government speaks my views—no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression for the same reason that I would have resisted tyranny at home."

Lord Norbury interposed at this point to the following effect:

"Mr. Emmet, you have been called upon to show cause, if any you have, why the judgment of the law should not be enforced against you. Instead of showing anything in point of law why judgment should not pass, you have proceeded in a manner the most unbecoming a person in your situation; you have avowed and endeavoured to vindicate principles totally subversive of the Government—totally subversive of the tranquillity, well-being, and happiness of that country which gave you birth,—and you have broached treason the most abominable.

"You, sir, had the honour to be a gentleman by

birth, and your father filled a respectable situation under the Government. You had an eldest brother whom death snatched away, and who when living was one of the greatest ornaments of the bar. The laws of his country were the study of his youth, and the study of his maturer life was to cultivate and support them. He left you a proud example to follow, and if he had lived, he would have given your talents the same virtuous direction as his own, and have taught you to admire and preserve that constitution for the destruction of which you have conspired with the most profligate and abandoned, and associated yourself with hostlers, bakers, butchers, and such persons, whom you invited to council when you created your Provisional Government."

"If the spirits of the illustrious dead," replied Emmet, "participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene—dear shade of my venerated father, look down on your suffering son, and see has he for one moment deviated from those moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind, and for which he has now to offer up his life.

"My lord, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim; it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels, and in a little time it will cry to heaven. Be yet patient; I have but a few words more to say

—my ministry is now ended. I am going to my cold and silent grave; my lamp of life is nearly extinguished; I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause, and abandoned another idol I adored in my heart —the object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I am ready to die—I have not been allowed to vindicate my character. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world—it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace; let my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

After this speech, which caused a deep impression on all, Lord Norbury immediately pronounced the death sentence, and displayed more emotion in his address than he had ever been known to show. It was half-past ten o'clock at night when Emmet was removed from the dock, his execution being ordered for the next day.

There were passages in his speech not fully reported which referred to the animus shown by Plunket; and one who was present, and who after-

wards became a judge, thus describes Emmet's manner in delivering his speech:

"Whenever he referred to the charges brought against him by Plunket, he generally used the words, 'the honourable gentleman' said so-and-so; and then enforcing his argument against his accusers, his hand was stretched forward, and the two forefingers of the right hand were slowly laid on the open palm of the other, and alternately were raised or lowered as he proceeded."

"He is described," says Madden, "as moving about in the dock, as he warmed in his address, with rapid but not ungraceful motions; now in front of the railing before the bench, then retiring, as if his body as well as his mind were swelling beyond the measure of their chains. His action was not confined to his hands; he seemed to have acquired a swaying motion of the body when he spoke in public, which was peculiar to him, but there was no affectation in it."

In concluding this chapter, it may be worth mentioning, especially as it has never been placed on record before, that in proof of the extempore character of Emmet's speech (if any proof is necessary), I have been informed by a member of the O'Grady family that the phrase used by Emmet, "My lamp of life is nearly extinguished," was suggested to him by the fact that one of the oil lamps of the court began to flicker, and after a few moments, went out.

CHAPTER XV.

AT half-past ten o'clock on the night of the trial, Emmet was taken from the Court-house in Green Street to Newgate Prison, and there loaded heavily with irons. Instead of being allowed to pass in peace the few hours left to him, he was removed after midnight, on the pretence of a possible rescue, to Kilmainham, where he remained till his execution. On the following morning, at ten o'clock, he was visited by his "counsel," the perfidious M'Nally, who found him with the Rev. Dr. Gamble, the Newgate chaplain, reading the service of the Church of England. One of his first inquiries was after his mother, who, he knew, was in declining health. He did not know that she had died several days previously. M'Nally hesitated to answer, and Emmet repeated the question. M'Nally then said, "I know, Robert, you would like to see your mother;" to which Emmet fervently replied, "Oh! what would I not give to see her!" M'Nally, pointing upwards, then said, dramatically, "Then Robert, you will see her this day!" and then explained to Emmet that his mother was dead Emmet, after a moment, said "It is better so."

Before being led out to execution, he confided two letters to Dr. Trevor, in whose honour, with his usual trustfulness, he seems to have believed. One of these was to his brother, detailing his plans and describing their failure, the other was addressed to the Chief Secretary. Both have been reprinted above. Dr. Trevor promised to transmit the letters safely, and it has been seen how he kept his word with regard to the letter to Thomas Addis Emmet.

Dr. Trevor, it is said, embraced him when, at half-past one o'clock, he was taken to the place of execution, which was at the end of Bridgefoot Street in Thomas Street, and nearly opposite St. Catherine's Church. He was placed in a carriage with two clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Gamble, and a Rev. Dr. Grant, and, preceded and followed by a strong cavalry and infantry guard, the melancholy procession moved slowly along. Emmet's demeanour was, to use the words of W. H. Curran, one of "unostentatious fortitude." The *London Chronicle* of September 24th–27th, describes his manner in a somewhat hostile spirit: "In short, he behaved without the least symptoms of fear, and with all the effrontery and nonchalance which so much distinguished his conduct on his trial yesterday. He seemed to scoff at the dreadful circumstances attendant on him; at the same time with all the coolness and complacency that can be possibly imagined — though utterly unlike the calmness of Christian fortitude. Even as it was, I

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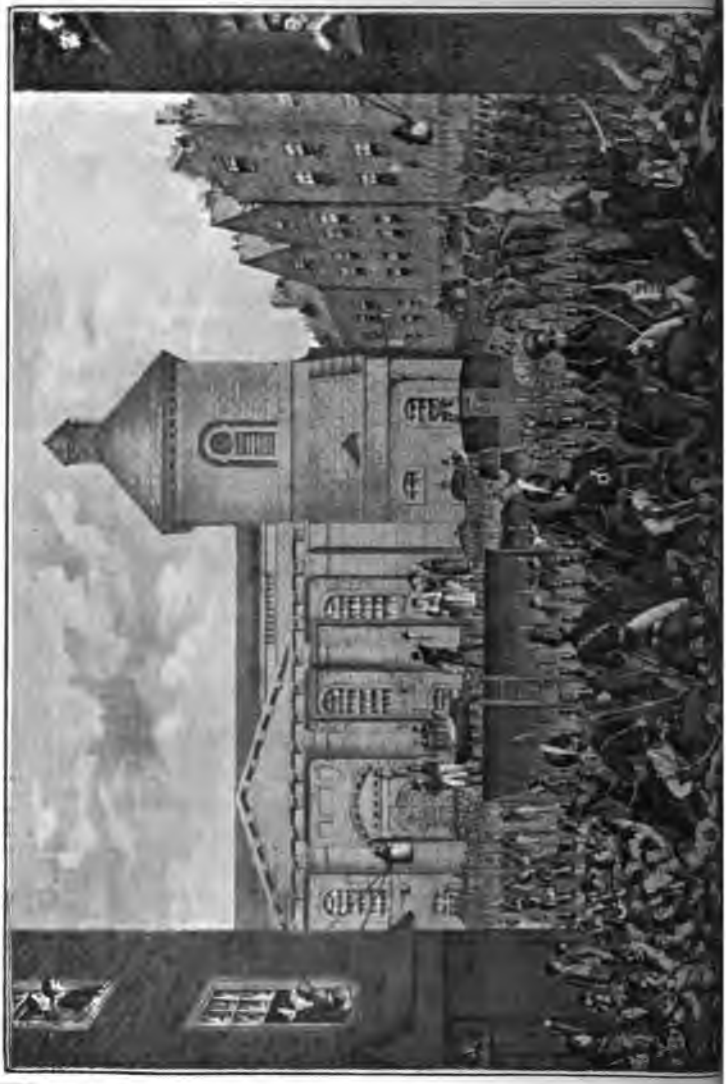

EXECUTION OF EMMET.

never saw a man die like him; and God forbid I should see many with his principles."

When assisted to alight from the carriage, his hands being tied, he mounted the scaffold with great firmness, and said to the assembled crowd, "My friends, I die in peace and with sentiments of universal love and kindness towards all men." He shook hands with several people on the scaffold, gave his watch to the hangman, coolly removed his stock, and helped to fix the rope round his neck. He was then placed on the plank underneath the beam, and the cap was put over his face, but he partly removed it to speak a few words to the executioner. A moment or two afterwards, the plank was tilted up, and without any sign of a struggle, Emmet was dead. The body was shortly afterwards laid across a table on the scaffold, and the head was struck off, and held up before the crowd with the usual formula, "This is the head of a traitor." One of the spectators informed Madden that he noticed there was no distortion of the features, but was struck with their "extraordinary pallor."

The Mr. John Fisher already quoted in a previous chapter gave Madden the following account of the scene: "I saw poor Emmet executed, and immediately before his execution, saw him put his hand in his pocket, and pull out some silver and some half-pence, which he handed to the executioner, Galvin. Then I saw him take off his cravat with his own hands, hand it to the

executioner, and noticed him in the act of addressing Galvin some two or three words. The execution took place at the corner of the lane at St. Catherine's Church in Thomas Street, and he died without a struggle. He was immediately beheaded upon a table lying on the temporary scaffold. The table was then brought down to the Market-house, opposite John Street, and left there against the wall, exposed to public view for about two days."

In the "Life of Grattan" there is an interesting incident of Emmet's last moments recorded. "He was as cool and collected before his death," says the younger Grattan, "as if nothing was to happen. Peter Burrowes saw him on his way, and related a circumstance that occurred as he was going to execution. He had a paper that he wished to be brought to Miss Curran, to whom he was strongly attached; he watched his opportunity, and in passing one of the streets he caught a friendly eye in the crowd, and making a sign to the person, got him near, and then he dropped a paper; this was observed by others, and the person who took it up was stopped; the paper was taken from him and brought to the Castle. Mr. Burrowes and Charles Bushe saw it, and said it was a very affecting letter."

W. H. Curran also states that when he was taken to prison after his arrest, he gave the gaoler all the money he possessed, and entreated him to deliver a letter which he had written to Miss

Curran. The gaoler, however, handed the letter to the authorities, and when Emmet discovered this, he immediately notified the Government that if the letter was not delivered he would exercise his right of addressing the people at his trial and execution, which he was aware was not desired, but that, on the other hand, should the letter be handed to Miss Curran, he would go to his death without saying a word. Presumably the letter was never delivered.

There is a story or tradition current that on the morning of the execution a coach was stationed a little way from the gaol, and near the entrance of the Royal Hospital, and in it was observed a lady with her face buried in a handkerchief. When Emmet passed on his way to execution, he was seen to look intently at this coach, and to wave his hand several times till he was out of sight. The lady in the coach stood up, waved her handkerchief in reply, and then sank back in her seat. She was supposed to be Sarah Curran.

Anne Devlin relates that when she was removed to the Castle from Kilmainham on the day after the execution, she was taken by way of Thomas Street, and saw the scaffold still standing with the blood visible on its boards. Many people had dipped their handkerchiefs in it, and carried them away as mementoes (gruesome ones enough, it must be admitted).

The body of Emmet was removed to the gaol at Kilmainham after the execution, and it was

directed that unless claimed immediately by the relatives of Emmet, it should be buried in Bully's Acre, otherwise the Hospital Fields, close by. The gaoler, Dunn, stated that he kept the body for several hours in the expectation that it would be claimed, but as Emmet's only surviving friends were nearly all in gaol or were afraid to make known their interest in him, no one appeared, and the remains were interred "near the right hand corner of the burying ground, next the avenue of the Royal Hospital, and close to the wall."

After a short lapse of time, the body was claimed by Dr. Gamble and exhumed, and buried with great secrecy in Dublin, but where has always remained, and will probably continue to remain, a mystery. Emmet's brother-in-law, John Patten, then in gaol, believed that the body was buried in St. Michan's Church. He had seen the man who removed the body, and this was his recollection after many years. Leonard, Dr. Emmet's old gardener, held the same view; and stated that he was told that the large uninscribed stone in the churchyard was placed over the grave. Mr. Patten, however, thought that Emmet's body was buried in the vaults of the church, and not in the churchyard. The Rev. Dr. Gamble, a friend of the Emmet family, was one of the curates of St. Michan's at this time, which may be said to support the view that Emmet was buried in his churchyard. On the other hand, Emmet's parents were buried in St. Peter's, Aungier Street, and

that Church would, one would think, be naturally the most likely place of burial. There is no entry in the register of either church to show that he was buried there.

Dr. Madden, towards the close of his life, from information he received, believed Emmet to have been buried in the Protestant churchyard of Glasnevin, but the matter has never been cleared up. Dr. Emmet suggests that the opening of the family vault in St. Peter's might yield a clue, as it is possible the body might have been interred there.

Several debates took place in Parliament in August and December on the subject of Emmet's rebellion. Lord Temple thought that the ministers ought to be impeached, if, as appeared to be the case, the Government were unaware of the preparations for the rising. If they did know of them, he wished to ask why the rebels were allowed to be for one hour in arms. Other members doubted whether the Government could have known anything about it, as otherwise the Lord Lieutenant would not have left town that night, and moreover, the Lord Mayor and Commander-in-Chief would have been informed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that "all the necessary officers" were informed, and said that if the Viceroy had not gone to his country house that night, Dublin might have become alarmed!

In March, 1804, another debate took place on

the same subject, when Sir John Wrottlesley moved for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the authorities at the time. He gave many examples of their remissness; and other members joined in the attack. Lord Castlereagh practically admitted knowledge of the conspiracy on the part of the Government, but argued that it was necessary to let things come to a head so that, as Windham said, "the cure might be radical." He stated that there were only about two or three thousand pikes in the Thomas Street depot, but Lord de Blaquiere, who had been one of the officers engaged in the search, declared that there were not less than twelve thousand. It is difficult to resist the feeling that the Lord Lieutenant and the Commander-in-Chief were deliberately kept ignorant of the affair, and that Dr. Emmet's suggestion, based on Sir Bernard Burke's statement, is the true solution of the mystery.

It only remains to speak of the fate of Sarah Curran, the story of whose subsequent career is very sad reading. Curran's son says that it was only when a search was made at his father's house after Emmet's arrest, that Curran discovered the attachment between his daughter and the insurgent leader. This seems difficult to believe, when one remembers the close observation kept upon Emmet by Leonard M'Nally, who would naturally, one would think, have warned his friend of the affair.

W. H. Curran says: "This is not the place to

dwell upon the agony which such a discovery occasioned to the private feelings of the father. It was not the private calamity alone which he had to deplore—it came embittered by other circumstances which, for the moment, gave his sensibility an intenser shock." There is, however, this amount of corroboration of the younger Curran's statement—that from this period onwards, Curran, who could not have been at any time described as an indulgent father, treated his unhappy daughter with all the rigour of a remorseless persecutor. Miss Curran's feelings on hearing of her lover's arrest, and of the discovery of her correspondence with him, as evidenced by the visitation of her father's house, may be guaged from the reply to Major Sirr's report to the Chief Secretary (which does not appear to exist). Mr. Wickham wrote:

"DEAR SIR,—I lament exceedingly the circumstance of Mr. Curran's absence from his country house on your arrival, and am much distressed at hearing of the state of Miss Sarah Curran's mind, as described in your letter; in every case I think you had better come away, and leave Miss Sarah Curran to the care of her sisters.—I am, dear Sir, etc., "W. WICKHAM."

So harsh was Curran's treatment of his daughter that she was obliged to leave, if not actually expelled from her father's house, and she sought the protection of an old friend of her family, a Mr. Penrose, of Woodhill, Glanmire Road, near Cork.

Here she was kindly treated and remained for some time. After her grief for Emmet's death had somewhat subsided, she went to a fancy dress ball in Cork, and here her future husband, Captain Sturgeon, first met her. He fell deeply in love with her, and proposed to her, but she refused him. She could not forget Emmet, for whose death she considered herself partly responsible, as she often declared that she might easily have escaped to America with him in the interval between the insurrection and his arrest. A writer in *The Literary Souvenir* for 1831, who evidently knew her well, gives some interesting particulars about her, and animadverts in strong terms upon J. P. Curran's cruel treatment of his daughter.

"When I first saw Sarah Curran," says the writer, "she was in her twelfth year, and was even then remarkable for a pensive character of countenance, which she never afterwards lost. A favourite sister, to the best of my recollection a twin, died when she was eight years old, and was buried under a large tree on the lawn of 'the Priory' (Mr. Curran's seat near Dublin), directly opposite to the window of their nursery. Under its shade they had often sat together, pulled the first primroses, at its root, and watched in its leaves the earliest verdure of the spring. Many an hour, for many a year, did the sorrowful survivor take her silent stand at the melancholy window, gazing on the well known spot, which constituted all her little world of joys and sorrows. To

this circumstance she attributed the tendency to melancholy which formed so marked a feature of her character through life."

The writer states that Emmet was first introduced to her by her brother (probably Richard), and that it was only after this introduction that he became a frequent visitor at Curran's house. It is also stated that among Emmet's papers was found a letter strongly dissuading him from attempting an insurrection, and another giving as her reason for not yielding to his entreaties that she should go away with him to America, her sense of duty towards her family. The last letter was written while he was in concealment and when preparations were being made for his escape to America. She is said to have received a letter from Emmet declaring that as she would not leave Ireland with him, he was determined to stay and meet his fate. After his execution, the writer goes on, she lost her reason for a time, and became seriously ill, during which period her father refused to see her or to acknowledge her in any way.

The writer gives particulars of Curran's treatment of his daughter such as could only proceed from a heart of flint, but they need not be repeated here. Even after her death, Curran refused her last request to be buried beside her sister in 'The Priory' grounds. Lord Cloncurry remonstrated with him, but in vain.

After repeated solicitations from Captain Stur-

geon, whose kindness and consideration towards her had already made some impression upon her, she at length consented to marry him, but she candidly told him that she could not give him all the love he might expect, as she could never forget her first lover.

At this time she was gradually declining in health. Captain Sturgeon thoroughly respected her feelings, and on the 24th of November, 1805, she was married to him. He was the nephew of the Marquess of Rockingham, and had a brave and honourable record in the army. All accounts agree in praising his high qualities both as a soldier and as a gentleman. Soon after the marriage he was ordered to Sicily, and it was thought his wife would probably benefit by the change of climate, but alas, it was too late. In 1808 they returned from Sicily in a crowded transport, and in very bad weather. On board Mrs. Sturgeon gave birth to a boy, who died soon after, and her own death followed his very speedily. It is thus noticed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1808:

"May 5th, 1808, at Hythe, in Kent, of a rapid decline, aged 26, Sarah, wife of Captain Henry Sturgeon, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. J. P. Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland."

She was buried at Newmarket, Co. Cork, where her father's family had been buried for generations. Her husband was killed in 1814 in the Peninsular War. Poor Sarah Curran's personal

appearance is thus described by the writer in *The Literary Souvenir:*

"In person she was about the ordinary size; her hair and eyes black. Her complexion was fairer than is usual with black hair, and was a little freckled. Her eyes were large, soft, and brilliant, and capable of the greatest variety of expression. Her aspect in general indicated reflection, and pensive abstraction from the scene around her. Her wit was keen and playful, but chastened; although no one had a keener perception of humour or ridicule. Her musical talents were of the first order; she sang with exquisite taste. I think I never heard so harmonious a voice."

In the last letter she ever wrote, she gives an account of her sufferings, and thus speaks of her husband: "In England you know how I am situated—not one I know intimately. To make up for this, my beloved husband is everything to me; his conduct throughout all my troubles surpasses all praise." In a beautiful and well known song by Moore, Sarah Curran's memory is immortally preserved, and her ill-fated lover's name, even long after the records of his life have perished, will remain enshrined in the same song and in the others consecrated to his memory by Moore, to whose credit it must be said that he never forgot his early friend or allowed his fame to be slighted.

Had Emmet's attempt at insurrection, which now seems such a lamentable fiasco, been success-

ful, he would have ranked among the greatest figures of his age. But he was unsuccessful, and has to bear the obloquy and contempt nearly always attendant upon failure.

Moore must have been thinking of him when he introduced these lines, which fittingly close this narrative, into his "Lalla Rookh:"

"Rebellion, foul dishonouring word,
  Whose wrongful blight so oft has stain'd
The holiest cause that tongue or sword
  Of mortal ever lost or gained.
How many a spirit, born to bless,
  Hath sunk beneath that with'ring name,
Whom but a day's, an hour's success,
  Had wafted to eternal fame?
As exhalations, when they burst
From the warm earth, if chill'd at first,
If check'd in soaring from the plain,
Darken to fogs and sink again—
But, if they more triumphant spread
Their wings above the mountain-head,
Become enthroned in upper air,
And turn to sun-bright glories there!"

THE END.

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